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LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

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PREFACE

Volume Six contains works by V. I. Lenin written between January 1902 and August 1903.

The volume includes *Material for the Preparation of the Programme of the R.S.D.L.P.*, which reflects the struggle waged by Lenin in the Editorial Board of *Iskra* for the working out of a revolutionary programme for the party of the working class.

A considerable part of the volume consists of works dealing with the question of agrarian relations and the peasantry, the theory of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry: "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social Democracy", the pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor*, and other works.

The national question and the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism are dealt with in the articles, "The National Question in Our Programme", "Does the Jewish Proletariat Need an 'Independent Political Party'?", and other writings.

The present volume contains the following works directed against the Socialist-Revolutionaries: "Revolutionary Adventurism", "The Basic Thesis Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries", "Why the Social-Democrats Must Declare a Determined and Relentless War on the Socialist-Revolutionaries", and others.

Lenin's struggle against bourgeois liberalism is reflected in the articles, "The Autocracy is Wavering...", "Mr. Struve Exposed by His Colleague", and "Political Struggle and Political Chicanery".

"A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organisational Tasks", and "Draft Rules of the R.S.D.L.P." are devoted to an elaboration of the organisational principles of a Marxist party.

The volume includes "On the Subject of Reports by Committees and Groups of the R.S.D.L.P. to the General Party Congress", as well as draft resolutions and speeches at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. which give an idea of Lenin's work in preparation for and during the Party Congress.

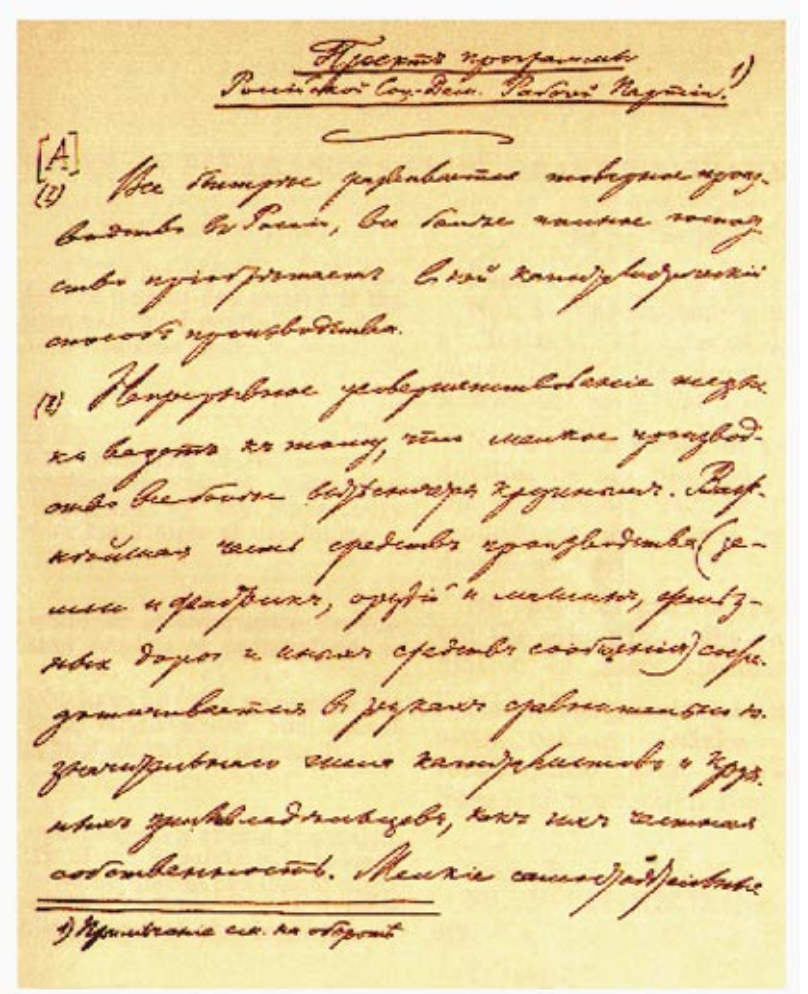
The present volume includes the following works by V. I. Lenin published for the first time in his *Collected Works*: "Concerning Demonstrations", "On the Tasks of the Social Democratic Movement", "The Basic Thesis Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries", "To Secondary School Students", "Extract from an Article Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries", "Draft Appeal of the Russian Organising Committee to the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy, the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, and the Foreign Committee of the Bund", "Marxist Views on the Agrarian Question in Europe and in Russia", "Outline of an Article Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries", "First Speech in the Discussion on the Party Rules", "Speech on the Attitude Towards the Student Youth", and "The Latest Word in Bundist Nationalism".

MATERIAL FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF THE R.S.D.L.P.[1]

Written in January-April 1902

First published in 1924, in *Lenin Miscellany II*

Published according to the manuscript



Проект программы
Российской Соц.-Дем. Рабочей Партии. 1)

[A.]
(1) Все быстрое развитие товарного хозяйства в России, во всем ходе нашей экономической жизни подтверждает факт капиталистического характера нашего производства.

(2) Непрерывное усовершенствование техники ведет за собой, при нашем товарном производстве, неизбежное разорение мелких производителей. Различные виды средств производства (земля и фабрики, орудия и машины, средства транспорта и всякие средства сообщения) сосредоточиваются в руках сравнительно немногих капиталистов и крупных землевладельцев, тогда как растет масса неимущих, экономическая зависимость, нищета и эксплоатация.

1) Продолжение см. на обороте

First page of Lenin's manuscript, "Draft Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party", 1902

Reduced

NOTES ON PLEKHANOV'S FIRST DRAFT PROGRAMME

PLEKHANOV'S TEXT	LENIN'S NOTES
I. The principal economic feature of present day society is the domination of capitalist production relations in it,	Page 1. No. 1—Capitalism is not a "feature" of present-day society, but its economic *system* or *mode*, etc.
i.e., ownership of the means of production and of commodity circulation by the numerically very small class of capitalists,	No. 2—The means of production belong not only to the capitalists, but to the landowners and small producers as well.
while the majority of the population consists of proletarians,	No. 3—The proletariat is not the majority of the population in many countries.
who have no other possession but their labour-power, and cannot subsist except by selling it.	No. 4—The proletariat possesses certain articles of consumption (and partly means of production too).
In consequence of this, the majorjority of the population is reduced to the dependent position of wage-workers, whose labour creates the income of the capitalists.	Page 2. No. 5 + of the landowners.
II. The sphere of domination of capitalist production relations is constantly expanding, as continuous technical progress	To page 2. Not technical progress but private ownership expropriates and *verelendet** the small producer.

* Impoverishes.—*Ed*.

increases the economic importance of the big enterprises and thereby

No. 6—"and thereby"?? Of itself technical progress cannot *increase* the economic importance of the big enterprises. As the result of technical progress (+ a number of economic changes, such as in market conditions, etc.) small-scale production is being ousted by large-scale production.

decreases the number of independent small producers, reduces their role in the economic life of society,

No. 6-7. Capitalism does not always "*decrease the n u m b e r* of small producers" (relatively, and not necessarily absolutely, particularly in Russia).

[Capitalism expropriates and leads him—the small producer—to degradation and impoverishment....]

Page 2. No. 7. Reduces the role of the small = increases the economic importance of the big (one and the same thing).

and at places turns them directly into vassals and tributaries of the big manufacturers.

No. 8—Directly—delete. The process of the separation of the producer from the means of production is not indicated.

III. Capitalist production relations weigh more and more heavily on the working class, as technical progress, by increasing the productivity of labour, not only makes it materially possible for the capitalists to intensify the exploitation of the workers, but converts this possibility into reality, occasioning a relative reduction in the demand for

Page 3 of the original draft.

No. 9. + and on the small producers

[the peasants in general should be specially mentioned].

No. 10—giving rise to, or engendering.

labour-power simultaneously with a relative and absolute increase in its supply.

Page 3—expressed in an extremely unpopular, abstract way. Far better in the Erfurt Programme[2] "...the army of surplus-workers is growing", "insecurity of existence is increasing.

IV. The development of labour productivity does not raise the price of labour-power, but, on the contrary, is very often the direct cause of its reduction. Thus, technical progress, which signifies an increase in social wealth causes greater social inequality in capitalist society, widens the distance between the propertied and the propertyless, and increases the workers' economic dependence on the capitalists.

Page 4—"the price of labour-power" is very often <* (also expressed in a very abstract way; = the growth of exploitation, oppression, poverty, degradation).

"Thus" causes greater inequality. It would appear from this that greater inequality is engendered *only* by the increase (intensification) in the *exploitation* of the wage-worker, whereas it is engendered:

1) by the expropriation of the small producer + 2) by the impoverishment of the small producer + 3) by the increase in exploitation + 4) by the growth of the reserve army.

V. With such a state of affairs in capitalist society and with the constantly growing mutual rivalry among the capitalist countries on the world market, the sale of commodities necessarily lags behind their production, and this periodically causes more or less severe industrial crises attended by more or less lengthy periods of industrial stagnation, leading to a further

Page 5.

Is it necessary to indicate the *causes* of crises in the programme?

If so, the shortcoming is that two causes are indicated: 1) greater social inequality ("with such a state of affairs", p. 4) + 2) the growth of rivalry.

* Reduced.—*Ed.*

The basic cause of crises = *Planlosigkeit*,* private appropriation under social production, is not indicated.

reduction in the number and economic importance of the small producers,

Pages 5-6: reduction of the "*e c o n o m i c i m p o r t a n c e*" of the small producers is too abstract a term.

{ Expropriates (= reduces the number?) and *verelendet*.

to a still greater dependence of wage-labour upon capital,

Page 6—of wage-"*labour*"? Isn't it better to say of the *workers*?

and to a still more rapid relative and at places even absolute, deterioration of the conditions of the proletariat and the small producers.

Page 6—consequences of a crisis—*relative and absolute deterioration of the conditions*. Isn't it better to say plainly: unemployment, poverty of the workers and the small producers.

VI. But as these inevitable contradictions of capitalism grow and develop, the discontent of the working class with the existing order of things also grows, its struggle against the capitalist class becomes sharper, and in its midst the realisation spreads ever more widely and rapidly

Page 7—instead of discontent—*indignation*.

Page 7—the spreading of a realisation (—γ) is placed *on a par* with the growth of indignation (—α) and the aggravation of the struggle (—β). But

α and β are spontaneous, whereas

γ should be introduced by *us*.

* Painlessness.—Ed.

that the yoke of economic dependence, which lies on its shoulders, can be thrown off only through its own efforts, and that to throw off this yoke a social revolution is necessary, i.e., the destruction of capitalists production relations and the conversion of the means of production and of the circulation of products into public property.

Page 7—"only through its own efforts".

This should be expressed in a more general way: *can be the act only of the working class*, etc.

Pages 7-8.

1) destruction of capitalist production relations? -- Socialist production* *t a k i n g t h e p l a c e*** of commodity production,

2) the expropriation of the exploiters,

3) the conversion of the means of production into *public property*

} the conversion of private into public property.

VII. This revolution of the proletariat will emancipate the whole off mankind, now oppressed and suffering, since it will put an end to all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man.

VIII. In order to replace capitalist commodity production by the socialist organisation of the production of articles to satisfy the needs of society and ensure the well-being of all its members, in order to effect its revolution,

Page 9—unclear***: "to satisfy the needs of society and ensure the well-being of all its members."

This is insufficient: (cf. the Erfurt Programme: "the greatest well-being and all-round harmonious perfection").

---

* It is necessary to explain what this socialist production is.

** As is stated on pages 8-9.

*** In Lenin's manuscript the word "unclear" is written above the words "to satisfy the needs".—*Ed.*

the proletariat must have command of political power, which will make it master of the situation and enable it ruthlessly to smash all the obstacles it will come up against on the road to its great goal. In this sense the dictatorship of the proletariat is an essential political condition of the social revolution.

IX. But the development of international exchange and the world market has established such close ties among all nations of the civilised world, that this great goal can be attained only through the united efforts of the proletarians of all countries. Hence the present-day working-class movement had to become, and has long become, an international movement.

X. Russian Social-Democracy regards itself as one of the detachments of the world army of the proletariat, as part of international Social-Democracy.

XI. It pursues the same ultimate aim as the Social-Democrats of all other countries set themselves.

It discloses to the workers the irreconcilable antagonism between their interests and those of the capitalists, explains to them the historical significance, nature, and prerequisites of the social revolution which the proletariat is to carry out, and organises their forces for an unremitting struggle against their exploiters.

Page 9. "Master of the situation", "ruthlessly to smash", "dictatorship"??? (The social revolution is enough for us.)

Page 10—*nil*.

Page 11.—"the same *End-ziel**". Why the repetition?

Page 11.—"the same *End-ziel*"—and right alongside the *task* (might there not be confusion?) of the Social-Democratic Party:

1) To disclose *to* (?) the workers the irreconcilable antagonism between their interests and those of the capitalists.

2) To explain to them the significance, nature, and prerequisites of the social revo-

* Ultimate aim.—*Ed*.

lution [+the necessity of revolution?].

The Germans put this more forcibly: *weisen naturnotwendiges Ziel*.*

3) To organise their forces for an unremitting struggle against *their exploiters* (*N. B.?* + *against the government?*) + *?* *to direct* the struggle of the proletariat.

1) is included in 2).

1)—too limited.

It should be:

{ α to indicate the ultimate aim,
β to create an organisation of revolutionaries to *direct* the struggle of the proletariat. }

XII. But its immediate aims are considerably modified by the fact that in our country numerous remnants of the pre-capitalist—serf-owning—social system are an oppressive burden on the entire working population and are the most difficult of all the obstacles hindering the progress of the Russian working-class movement.

Page 12. "Remnants of the serf-owning system ... are an oppressive burden on the entire working population"

{ +the retardation of the development of productive forces
+the deterioration of living conditions
+keeping the whole people in a state of ignorance and subjection)—the most difficult obstacle (=remnants)? }

(What are these remnants? The autocracy + all the rest? This is said *below*.)

* To indicate the naturally necessary aim.—*Ed*.

The Russian Social-Democrats still have to work for the establishment of those juridical institutions which, constituting a natural legal complement to capitalist production relations, already exist in the advanced capitalist countries

12-13: necessary to work for the establishment of *t h o s e* (*?*) *j u r i d i c a l* institutions which *already* (*?*) *exist* in the advanced countries.

[These should be named more concretely. Unpopular.]

and are necessary for the complete and comprehensive development of the class struggle of wage-labour against capital.

Page 13—of wage-labour? —of the workers, of the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class for its complete emancipation.

And since the tsarist autocracy, which is the most outstanding remnant of the old serf-owning system and the most harmful in respect of further social development, is wholly incompatible with these juridical institutions, and since by its very nature it cannot but be the bitterest and most dangerous enemy of the proletarian emancipation movement, the Russian Social-Democrats advance as their immediate political task the overthrow of the monarchy.

Page 13. The autocracy is incompatible with these juridical institutions

(with political liberty??).

Page 14. Since the *a u t o c r a c y* is incompatible— the overthrow of the *monarchy* ((inconsistent)).

Written not later than January 8 (21), 1902

DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY*

[A]

I. Commodity production is ever more rapidly developing in Russia, the capitalist mode of production becoming increasingly dominant in it.

II. As the result of continuous technical progress, small-scale production is being ousted to an ever greater degree by large-scale production. The most important part of the means of production (of the land and factories, tools and machinery, railways and other means of communication) is becoming concentrated in the hands of a relatively insignificant number of capitalists and big landowners as their private property. The independent small producers (peasants, handicraftsmen, and artisans) are being ruined in growing numbers, losing their means of production and thus turning into proletarians, or else becoming servants and tributaries of capital. Increasing numbers of working people are compelled to sell their labour-power and become wage-workers, who are dependent on the property-owners and by their labour create the wealth of the latter.

III. The greater the degree of technical progress, the more the growth of the demand for labour-power lags behind the growth of its supply, and the greater are the opportunities for the capitalists to intensify exploitation of the workers. Insecurity of existence and unemployment, the yoke of

* The theoretical part of this programme constitutes the draft proposed by one of the editors, Frey[3] (and drawn up by him on the basis of G. V. Plekhanov's original draft). The practical part of the programme (from the point indicated below to the end) is proposed by the whole committee, i.e., by the five editors.

exploitation, and humiliation of every kind are becoming the lot of ever wider sections of the working population.

IV. This process is being still more aggravated by industrial crises, which are the inevitable outcome of the basic contradictions of capitalism. Poverty and destitution among the masses exist side by side with wastage of social wealth in consequence of the impossibility of finding markets for commodities produced.

V. Thus, the gigantic development of the productive forces of social labour, which is constantly becoming more socialised labour, is attended by monopolisation of all the principal advantages of this development by a negligible minority of the population. The growth of social wealth proceeds side by side with the growth of social inequality; the gulf between the class of property-owners (the bourgeoisie) and the class of the proletariat is growing.

[B]

VI. But as all these inevitable contradictions of capitalism increase and develop, the number and the solidarity of the proletarians, their discontent and indignation also grow, the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class becomes sharper, and the urge to throw off the intolerable yoke of capitalism mounts.

VII. The emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself. All the other classes of present-day society stand for the preservation of the foundations of the existing economic system. The real emancipation of the working class requires a social revolution—which is being prepared by the entire development of capitalism—i.e., the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, their conversion into public property, and the replacement of capitalist production of commodities by the socialist organisation of the production of articles by society as a whole, with the object of ensuring full well-being and free, all-round development for all its members.

VIII. This proletarian revolution will completely abolish the division of society into classes and, consequently, all social and political inequality arising from that division.

IX. To effect this social revolution the proletariat must win political power, which will make it master of the situa-

tion and enable it to remove all obstacles along the road to its great goal. In this sense the dictatorship of the proletariat is an essential political condition of the social revolution.

X. Russian Social-Democracy undertakes the task of disclosing to the workers the irreconcilable antagonism between their interests and those of the capitalists, of explaining to the proletariat the historical significance, nature, and prerequisites of the social revolution it will have to carry out, and of organising a revolutionary class party capable of directing the struggle of the proletariat in all its forms.

XI. But the development of international exchange and of production for the world market has established such close ties among all nations of the civilised world, that the present-day working-class movement had to become, and has long become, an international movement. That is why Russian Social-Democracy regards itself as one of the detachments of the world army of the proletariat, as part of international Social-Democracy.

XII. The immediate aims of Russian Social-Democracy are, however, considerably modified by the fact that in our country numerous remnants of the pre-capitalist, serf-owning social system, retard the development of the productive forces in the highest degree, render impossible the complete and all-round development of the proletariat's class struggle, and lower the working population's standard of living; they are responsible for the Asiatically barbarous way in which the many-million-strong peasantry is dying out, and keep the entire people in a state of ignorance and subjection, denying them all rights.

XIII. The tsarist autocracy is the most outstanding of these remnants of the serf-owning system and the most formidable bulwark of all this barbarism. It is the bitterest and most dangerous enemy of the proletarian emancipation movement and the cultural development of the entire people.

[C]

For these reasons* the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party advances as its immediate political task the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a

* Here begins the text adopted by the committee as a whole.

republic based on a democratic constitution that would ensure:

1) the people's sovereignty, i.e., concentration of supreme state power in the hands of a legislative assembly consisting of representatives of the people;

2) universal, equal, and direct suffrage, both in elections to the legislative assembly and in elections to all local organs of self-government, for every citizen who has reached the age of twenty-one; the secret ballot at all elections; the right of every voter to be elected to any of the representative assemblies; remuneration for representatives of the people;

3) inviolability of the person and domicile of citizens;

4) unrestricted freedom of conscience, speech, the press and of assembly, the right to strike and to organise unions;

5) freedom of movement and occupation;

6) abolition of social-estates; full equality for all citizens, irrespective of sex, religion or race;

7) recognition of the right to self-determination for all nations forming part of the state;

8) the right of every citizen to prosecute any official, without previously complaining to the latter's superiors;

9) general arming of the people instead of maintaining a standing army;

10) separation of the church from the state and of the school from the church;

11) universal, free, and compulsory education up to the age of sixteen; state provision of food, clothing, and school supplies to needy children.

[D]

To protect the working class and to raise its fighting capacity,* the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party demands:

1) that the working day be limited to eight hours for all wage-workers;

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* Frey moved that the beginning of this paragraph be altered to read as follows:

"To safeguard the working class from physical and moral degeneration, and also to raise its fighting capacity in the struggle for its emancipation...."

2) that a weekly rest period of not less than thirty-six consecutive hours for wage-workers of both sexes employed in all branches of the national economy be established by law;

3) that all overtime be prohibited;

4) that night-work (from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m.) in all branches of the national economy be prohibited, with the exception of those branches in which it is essential for technical reasons;

5) that employers be forbidden to employ children under the age of fifteen;

6) that female labour be forbidden in industries specifically injurious to the health of women;

7) that the law establish employers' civil liability for workers' complete or partial disability caused by accidents or by harmful working conditions; that the worker should not be required to prove his employer's responsibility for disability;

8) that payment of wages in kind be prohibited*;

9) that state pensions be paid to aged workers, who have become incapacitated;

10) that the number of factory inspectors be increased; that female inspectors be appointed in industries in which female labour predominates; that observance of the factory laws be supervised by representatives elected by the workers and paid by the state; piece rates and rejection of work done should also be supervised by elected representatives of the workers;

11) that local self-government bodies, in co-operation with elected representatives of the workers, supervise sanitary conditions in living quarters provided for workers by employers, and also see to the observance of rules operating in such living quarters and the terms on which they are leased, with the object of protecting the wage-workers from employers' interference in their lives and activities as private persons and citizens;

12) that a properly organised and comprehensive system of health inspection be instituted to supervise working conditions at all enterprises employing wage-labour;

* Frey moved that the following be inserted here (in the same clause): "that the law should establish weekly payment for all workers employed on a contract basis."

13) that the Factory Inspectorate's activities be extended to artisan, home, and handicraft industries, and to state-owned enterprises;

14) that any breach of the labour protection laws be punishable by law;

15) that employers be forbidden to make any deductions from wages, on any grounds or for any purpose whatsoever (fines, rejections, etc.);

16) that factory courts be set up in all branches of the national economy, with equal representation of workers and employers.

[E]

Besides, with the object of democratising Russia's state economy, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party demands that all indirect taxation be abolished and progressive income-tax be introduced.

With a view to eradicating the remnants of the old serf-owning system, the Party will work for*:

1) abolition of land redemption and quit-rent payments, as well as of all services now imposed on the peasantry as a taxable social-estate;

2) annulment of collective liability[4] and of all laws restricting the peasant in the free disposal of his land;

3) restitution to the people of all sums taken from them in the form of land redemption and quit-rent payments; confiscation for this purpose of monasterial property and of the royal demesnes, and imposition of a special land-tax on members of the big landed nobility who received land redemption loans, the revenue thus obtained to be credited to a special public fund for the cultural and charitable needs of the village communes;

4) establishment of peasant committees

a) for the restitution to the village communes (by expropriation, or, when the land has changed hands, by

* Frey moved that the following words be inserted here: "and for the purpose of facilitating the free development of the class struggle in the countryside," so that the whole paragraph would read as follows: "With a view to eradicating the remnants of the old serf-owning system and for the purpose of facilitating the free development of the class struggle in the countryside, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party will work for."

redemption, etc.) of the land cut off from the peasants when serfdom was abolished and now used by the landlords as a means of keeping the peasants in bondage;

b) for the eradication of the remnants of the serf-owning system which still exist in the Urals, the Altai, the Western territory, and other regions of the country;

5) empowerment of courts to reduce exorbitant rents and declare null and void all contracts entailing bondage.

[F]

Working for the achievement of its immediate political and economic aims,* the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party supports every oppositional and revolutionary movement directed against the existing social and political order in Russia, but emphatically rejects all those reformist plans which depict every extension of police tutelage over the working masses as a step towards the solution of the social problem.**

For its part, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is firmly convinced that the complete, consistent, and lasting implementation of the indicated political and social changes can be achieved only by overthrowing the autocracy and convoking a Constituent Assembly, freely elected by the whole people.

Written in late January-early February 1902

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* Frey moved that the beginning of the paragraph be altered to read as follows:
"Fighting for these demands, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party," etc.

** Frey moved that the end of this paragraph be altered to read as follows: "... plans connected with any extension or consolidation of tutelage of the working masses by the police and officials."

THREE AMENDMENTS TO THE DRAFT PROGRAMME

No. 1. In Paragraph (A) II, instead of: "As the result of continuous technical progress, small-scale production is being ousted to an ever greater degree by large-scale production"

insert the following:

"Technical progress is making constant headway, large-scale production is developing to an ever-increasing extent, small-scale production is being ousted more and more or is declining."

No. 2. In Paragraph (B) VII, after: "All the other classes of present-day society stand for the preservation of the foundations of the existing economic system"

insert:

"and the small producer, who is being ruined under the yoke of capitalism, becomes truly revolutionary only to the extent that he realises the hopelessness of his position and places himself at the standpoint of the proletariat"—

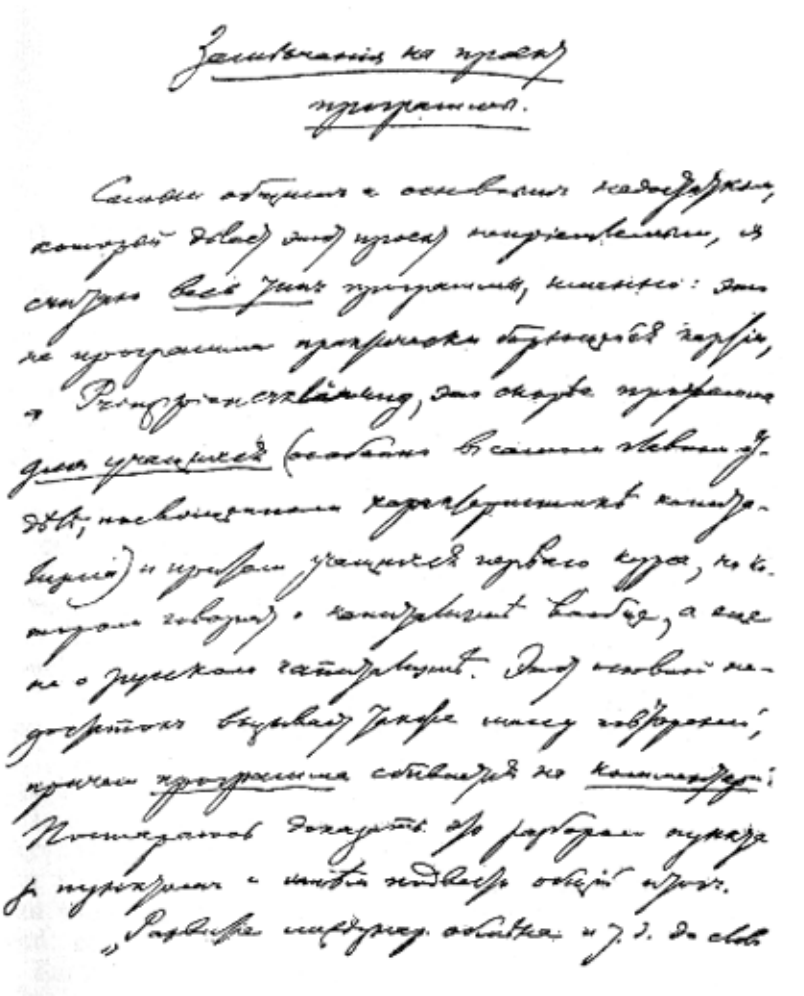
and further begin with a new paragraph.

No. 3. In Paragraph (B) XII, instead of: "are responsible for the Asiatically barbarous way in which the many-million-strong peasantry is dying out"

insert:

"are responsible for the Asiatically barbarous forms of exploitation and the agonising extinction of the many-million-strong peasantry".

Written in the second
half of February 1902



First page of Lenin's manuscript,
"Notes on Plekhanov's Second Draft Programme", 1902
Reduced

First page of Lenin's manuscript,
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Reduced

NOTES ON PLEKHANOV'S SECOND DRAFT PROGRAMME

The *entire character* of the programme is, in my opinion, the most general and basic defect of this draft, one that makes it unacceptable. Specifically, it is not the programme of a party engaged in a practical struggle, but a *Prinzipienerklärung**; it is rather a programme *for students* (especially its most important section, which is devoted to a definition of capitalism), moreover for first-year students, who are acquainted with capitalism in general, but not yet with Russian capitalism. This basic defect leads also to a great deal of repetition, and the *programme* tends to become a *commentary*. I shall endeavour to prove this by analysing the draft point by point, and shall then draw the general conclusions.

"The development of international exchange", etc., to the words "has long become an international movement" (§ I—for convenience in quoting I shall number each paragraph in consecutive order).

In essence there is nothing to which objection can be taken here. Only the words: "the great emancipation movement of our times" are superfluous, for the emancipatory nature of the working-class movement is dealt with below at length and concretely.

Further, in my opinion, this paragraph is not in its proper place. The programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Party should begin with a definition (and indictment) of Russian capitalism—and only then stress the international character of the movement, which in form—to use the words of the *Communist Manifesto*—is of necessity at first a national struggle.[5]

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* A declaration of principles.—*Ed.*

§ II. "*Like the Social-Democrats of all other countries, the Russian Social-Democrats take an international stand.* They regard their Party as one of the detachments of the world army of the proletariat, as part of international Social-Democracy".

The words I have underlined are superfluous, since they add absolutely nothing to what has been said prior to and after this. These superfluous words merely weaken the wholly adequate and graphic expression of thought contained in the words "detachment" and "part".

§ III. "They pursue the same ultimate aim as the Social-Democrats of all other countries."

These too are superfluous words, repeated *t w i c e* below in §§ XIII ("the ultimate aim of all the efforts of international Social-Democracy", etc.) and XVII ("the identity of the common ultimate aim"). A "detachment" of an army is a detachment for the very reason that it pursues the same aim.

§ IV. "This ultimate aim, which is common to the Social-Democrats of all countries" (again superfluous repetition), "is determined by bourgeois society's nature and course of development."

Also superfluous words, precisely because it is shown further *how* bourgeois society's nature and course of development "determine" this ultimate aim. This paragraph is something in the nature of a heading or section title. But headings, which are necessary in textbooks or articles, are quite unnecessary in a programme. *Alles, was im Programm überflüssig, schwächt es** (Engels in his notes on the draft of the Erfurt Programme).[6]

§§ V and VI (as well as the beginning of VII) evoke, in addition to formal remarks, one general and fundamental objection to the whole character of the programme as outlined in the draft.

I shall first state this general objection (for which purpose it will be necessary in part to defend the counterdraft), and then I shall proceed to the formal remarks.

§ V gives an academic definition of "developed" capitalism in general; § VI speaks of the "expansion" of capitalist production relations together with technical progress and the

* All that is superfluous in a programme weakens it.—*Ed.*

growth of big enterprises to the detriment of small enterprises (or at the expense of the latter), i.e., as small-scale production is being ousted by large-scale production.

This method of exposition is illogical and incorrect.

It is incorrect because the fighting proletariat learns what capitalism is, not from academic definitions (as one learns from textbooks), but from practical acquaintance with the *contradictions* of capitalism, with the *development* of society and its consequences. And in our programme we must *define* this development, and state—as briefly and graphically as possible—that *matters are proceeding in a certain way*. We should leave to commentaries all explanations of why things are proceeding in just this way and no other, and all details of the forms in which the basic tendencies find expression. As to what capitalism is—that will of itself follow from our definition of exactly how matters stand (*resp.** are proceeding).

It is illogical because the process of the ousting of small-scale production by large-scale production (§ VI) and that of the division of society into property-owners and proletarians (§ V) *are one and the same process*. And this is not expressed by the formulation given in the draft. According to the draft we have the following: *First proposition*. Developed capitalism consists in a considerable section of independent small-scale production having been ousted by large-scale production employing wage-workers. *Second proposition*. The domination of capitalism spreads in the degree that large-scale production ousts small-scale production....

In my opinion, these two paragraphs should be combined in one, for the reason indicated, and the process should be expressed as follows: technical progress—the ousting of small-scale production by large-scale production—the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the capitalists and the landowners—the ruin of the independent small producers: their conversion into proletarians or into dependents of capital.

The following objections are raised to this formulation (which the counterdraft has attempted to give):

(1) It alleges that the ruin of the Russian peasantry (*resp.*

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* *Respective* (Lat.).—*Ed*.

the formation of large-scale landownership in Russia, etc.) depends *solely* on the growth of capitalism.

This objection is, I believe, groundless. It is stated quite clearly in the appropriate place (viz., at the end of the programme) that there exists in our country a host of remnants of the serf-owning system, and that these remnants "barbarise" the process of development. But once we consider the process of the development of capitalism the *basic* process in Russia's social and economic evolution, we must begin precisely by describing *this* process, as well as *its* contradictions and consequences. Only in this way can we give graphic expression to our thought that the process of the development of capitalism, the ousting of small-scale production, the concentration of property, etc., is proceeding and will continue, *despite* all the remnants of the serf-owning system, and *through* all these remnants.

(2) It is said that the proposition "small-scale production is being ousted to an ever greater degree by large-scale production" is "too categorical", "stereotyped", etc.

I must, therefore, explain the reasons which lead me to consider this formulation *no less correct* and *far more apt* than the formulation given in the draft under discussion: "an increase in the economic importance of the big enterprises, a decrease in the relative number of the small enterprises, reduction of their role in the social and economic life of the country."

From the purely theoretical aspect, both these formulations are *absolutely identical in meaning*, and all attempts to establish a *difference in substance* between them are wholly arbitrary.* "An increase in the importance of the big and the reduction of the role of the small"—is equivalent to *ousting*. Ousting can consist in nothing else. The complexity and confusion in the question of small-scale production being ousted by large-scale production do *not at all* depend on anyone being unable (in good faith) to understand that ousting means "an increase in the importance of the big and

* We would challenge anyone who does not agree with this to cite or even imagine a single example of *any* "increase in the economic importance of the big enterprises and reduction of the role of the small enterprises" that *would not* make it obvious that the latter are being *ousted* by the former.

reduction of the role of the small"—but depend *wholly and exclusively* on the difficulty of agreement on *a choice of the indices and symptoms* of the ousting, *resp.* of the increase in the importance of the one, *resp.* the reduction of the role of the other.

In its most general form, the process of the development of capitalism in this respect may be expressed as follows:

Initial period:

Total production = *100*.

Large-scale = *a*. Small-scale = *100 — a*.

Subsequent period.

Total production = *200*.

Large-scale = **2a + b**. Small-scale = 200 — **2a — b**.

It can be said with confidence that all and every kind of data on the proportional relation between large-scale and small-scale production will fit into this formula. Nobody out to understand the process can doubt that this is indeed *ousting*. Whether *200 — 2a — b* will be greater in size than *100 — a* (relative ousting) or smaller (absolute ousting)—this is *ousting in any case*. Only a "critic" who does not wish to understand this will be "unable to understand"—and such people are very hard to please. Moreover, the commentary will give the proper rebuff to such people.

The difficulty of the question does not at all lie in understanding that the indicated modification is equivalent to "ousting", but in *the exact* definition of the magnitudes *100*, *a*, etc. This is a concrete question, a question of fact, and the formulation: "an increase in the importance and the reduction of the role" does not bring us a hair's breadth closer to its solution.

For example, *in the overwhelming majority of cases*, all European industrial statistics determine this "importance" and this "role" *by the number* of workers (and agrarian statistics do so *by the amount of land*). And no one has yet ventured to doubt that a *decrease in the proportionate number* of workers (*resp.* the amount of land) means precisely *ousting*. The trouble, however, is that *very often* such indices as the number of workers (*resp.* the amount of land) are *insufficient*. Small enterprises may be *ousted*, while the number of workers there (the amount of land) *increases*—if, for instance, these workers are handling *outside* materials, or if this land

is cultivated by inferior draught animals, or by workers in inferior conditions, or is cultivated and fertilised in a worse way, and so on, and so forth. It is common knowledge that the "critical" arguments against "Marxist dogma" teem with just *such* "misunderstandings", *and these* "*misunderstandings*" *are not eliminated one iota* by saying "an increase in the importance and the reduction of the role" instead of "ousting", since it is "generally accepted" that the "importance" and "role" are expressed quite simply by the number of workers and the amount of land.

No one will doubt that such processes as the differentiation of the peasantry, increasing use of machinery especially by big proprietors, improvements in the stock of draught animals used by the big proprietors and deterioration of that used by smallholders (the substitution of cows for horses, etc.), growing "importunities" of the hired worker at the big enterprises and the longer working hours there, *resp.* the small peasant's diminishing consumption, improved cultivation and fertilisation of the big proprietor's land, and poorer cultivation and fertilisation of the smallholder's land, the big proprietor's advantage over the latter in the field of credits and association, and so on and so forth—all these are precisely an *ousting* of small-scale production by large-scale production (in agriculture). It is not at all difficult (or even necessary) to prove that all these processes amount to "ousting"—it is difficult to prove that it is *precisely* to these processes that attention should be paid, that these processes are actually *taking place*. This difficulty is not made easier in the least by the words: "an increase in the importance and the reduction of the role"; it can be made easier *only* by a commentary, *only* by examples of how people *are unable to define* (do not want to define) the true expression of the process of ousting (=an increase in the importance and the reduction of the role).

It is a sheer illusion to imagine that the words "an increase in the importance and the reduction of the role" are deeper, more meaningful, and broader than the "narrow" and "stereotyped" word "ousting". These words do not contribute in the least towards a more profound understanding of the process—they merely express this process *more hazily and more vaguely*. And the reason I am contesting these words so vigorously is not because they are theoretically incorrect,

but just because they lend an appearance of profundity to *sheer haziness*.

A person who has "attended a seminary" and nothing more and is aware that a proportionate decrease (and not necessarily an absolute decrease) is tantamount to ousting will see in this haziness a desire to cover up the nakedness of the "Marxist dogma", which has been compromised by the critics.* A person who has not attended a seminary will only sigh over such masterly and "fathomless wisdom"—whereas the word "ousting" will remind every worker and every peasant of scores and hundreds of familiar instances. It is no harm if he does not immediately grasp the full import of this expression: *selbst wenn einmal ein Fremdwort oder ein nicht auf den ersten Blick in seiner ganzen Tragweite zu erfassender Satz vorkommt, schadet das nichts. Der mündliche Vortrag in den Versammlungen, die schriftliche Erklärung in der Presse tut da alles Nötige, und der kurze, prägnante Satz befestigt sich dann, einmal verstanden, im Gedächtniss, wird Schlagwort, und das passiert der breiteren Auseinandersetzung nie.*** (Engels in his criticism of the Erfurt Draft.)

From the standpoint of style, too, the words "an increase in the importance and the reduction of the role" instead of "ousting" are undesirable. This is not the language of a revolutionary party, but the language of *Russkiye Vedomosti*.[7] This is the terminology not of socialist propaganda, but of a statistical abstract. These words seem, as it were, deliberately chosen with a view to giving the reader the impression that the process described is a mild one, culminating in nothing definite, a painless process. Since in real-

* Such an *interpretation* of haziness is all the more inevitable the more widely such a definite formulation as, for instance, in the Erfurt Programme, becomes known: "*...geht die Verdrängung der zersplitterten Kleinbetriebe durch kolossale Grossbetriebe....*" ("...the scattered small enterprises are being ousted by colossal large-scale enterprises..."—*Ed.*)

** There is no harm in one's occasionally coming across a foreign word or a sentence whose full import one cannot grasp at first glance. Oral reports at meetings and written statements in the press do all that is necessary, and a brief but pithy sentence, once understood, will impress itself on the mind and become a slogan, which is never the case with a broader exposition.—*Ed.*

ity the reverse is true, these words are *to that extent* quite wrong. We cannot and should not choose the *most abstract* formulations, for what we are writing is not an article directed against the critics, but the programme of a militant party, which makes its appeal to the masses of handicraftsmen and peasants. In this appeal, we must say *klipp und klar** that capital "makes servants and tributaries of them", "ruins" them and "ousts" them, driving them into the ranks of the proletariat. This is the only formulation that would be a true expression of what every handicraftsman and every peasant knows from thousands of instances. And only this formulation will inevitably suggest the conclusion: your only salvation lies in joining the party of the proletariat.

In passing to the formal remarks against § V and § VI, I shall note the following.

§ V speaks of bourgeois society "in developed form", and at the same time states that both a "section of the artisans" and "the small peasantry" have survived in this society. What follows is an inaccuracy. If one is to understand the words "developed form" in a strictly theoretical sense, then there will be neither artisans nor small peasants in such a society. And even if these words are taken in their usual sense to mean the *most* developed countries—even then we will find that in Britain, for example, "the small peasantry" as a separate section of society has in essence practically ceased to exist.

"The domination of commodity production on the basis of capitalist production relations." That is rather incongruous. Of course, *fully* developed commodity production is possible only in capitalist society, but "commodity production" in general is both logically and historically *prius* to capitalism.

The term "capitalist production relations" is not used consistently in the draft. It is occasionally replaced by the term "the capitalist mode of production" (§ XI). To lessen the difficulty of understanding the programme, one term should, in my opinion, be used throughout, namely, the latter, since the former is more theoretical, and without the

* Clearly and distinctly.—*Ed.*

addition of the word "system", etc. (of relations), does not indicate anything complete or integral.

"The feudal-handicraft period...." Here, an expression seems to have been chosen, as though deliberately, which is least applicable to Russia, for it is questionable whether the term "feudalism" is applicable to our Middle Ages. And yet, the description given of "developed" bourgeois society is *in substance* applicable to Russia as well (independent small producers and the small peasants "have survived", they sell "their labour-power periodically or constantly", etc.). Hence, by its own formulation the draft refutes the opinion that no definition of the development of capitalism can be written, which will clearly and directly have Russia in view.

"The small producers, artisan-producers, who work to order...." To order from consumers or from the merchants who give out work? Probably the former. But precisely in Russia most small producers in industry work for the market and not to order.

"... The major part of the articles of consumption"... (why not also "of the means of production"?)... "is produced for sale *on the home or world market*...." The words underlined are unnecessary repetition, since the increase in international exchange is dealt with in §1.

"...The means of production *and of circulation*" of commodities. I believe that the words underlined should be transferred from the programme to the commentary, since one can *infer* that the capitalists own the *means of circulation* from the fact that they own the means of production in a society with a commodity economy.

"... Of persons who possess no means of production and of circulation *except their labour-power*...." That is not the way to put it.

The reference to "constant or periodical" sale of labour-power—"for a whole year or several months"—is a superfluous detail, which should be transferred to the commentary.

(§VI) "...An increase in the economic importance of the big *industrial* enterprises"—and below: the reduction of the role of independent small producers in general. Is the omission of big *agricultural* enterprises accidental? Or was it intended to say that the economic importance of big enterprises increases *only* in industry, whereas the role

of small enterprises is diminishing *both* in industry and in agriculture? If the latter is the case—then that would be *absolutely wrong*. The "economic importance of the big enterprises" is increasing in agriculture too (it will suffice to mention machinery as one example—and other examples are given above). Naturally, the process here is *immeasurably more complex*, but this will have to be said (and said with concrete explanations) in the commentary.

... Dependent "more or less completely, more or less obviously, more or less onerously..."—these are words which, in my opinion, are redundant and weaken the meaning. The phrasing in the original draft—"servants and tributaries"—is stronger and more graphic.

§ VII begins with superfluous reiteration, again referring to the "conversion of the small producers into proletarians", although this has already been noted in §§ V and VI.

§ VII gives an elaborate explanation of the fact that the growth of the demand for labour-power lags behind the growth of its supply. The exposition, in this case, can hardly benefit from such "elaborateness". In any case, no full *explanation of the process* is, of course, given (e.g., mention is made of the growing employment of female and child labour, but no mention is made of the growing intensification of labour, etc.). It would therefore be more correct to refer *all* explanations (with concrete examples) to the commentary, and to formulate in the programme only *what* the contradiction of capitalism consists in and *what* its tendency is.

The objection is raised that, by saying that "the greater the degree of technical progress, the more the growth of the demand for labour-power lags behind the growth of its supply", the question is presented in an incorrect light, since the "growth of supply" is far from being dependent on "technical progress" alone. But this objection is not sound, for the words "the greater—the more" are by no means equivalent to the words "since—consequently". The preceding paragraph explains *what* causes the "growth of supply" ("ruin", "ousting", etc.), and this will be explained more concretely in the commentary.

"... The share of the working class in the sum-total of the material wealth created by its labour is constantly diminishing...." These words appear in the paragraph dealing with

the intensification of exploitation (compare the quotation with the text directly preceding it). One might think therefore that what is meant by "share" is the relation of v to $v+m$. But in that event this is superfluous and does not correspond to the words "sum-total of wealth".

If, however, the sum-total $= c+v+m$, then, first, it is not quite proper to term $c+m$ (as against v) the "share", for by "share" is meant what is shared, i.e., articles of consumption. Further, in that case this proposition belongs in substance to the next paragraph, which deals with the increase in social wealth (c + v + m) and social inequality. In view of this, it would be better to omit the words quoted as superfluous repetition.

Moreover, these words, as formulated, presuppose a society that is so *developed* as to consist *only* of wage-workers and capitalists [for the share of the small producers also decreases], and this does not accord with § V, which keeps small producers in a "developed" society too.

§ VIII should come after §§ IX and X: these latter deal with crises, i.e., with *one* of the contradictions of capitalism, whereas § VIII sums up *all* the contradictions of capitalism and all tendencies in its development.

To the words "increase in the productivity of labour" should be added: "of social labour, which is constantly becoming more socialised labour". The draft speaks in the wrong place of the process of the socialisation of labour (§ XI) and in too narrow a form ("the process of technical progress combines the workers' labour more and more"). Capitalism's socialisation of labour does not consist solely in the "combination of the labour of the workers".

The words: "A widening of the distance between the propertied and the propertyless" following the words "an increase in social inequality" are a superfluous repetition. On the other hand, reference to the "growing gulf" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie must of necessity be added so as to define the chief social consequence of all the indicated contradictions of capitalism and pass over to the class struggle.

Incidentally, with regard to a definition of the social consequences of capitalism, it must be stated that here particularly the draft suffers from *abstractness*, limiting itself as it does to the utterly inadequate proposition: "multiplication

of the difficulties in the struggle for existence and of all the privations and sufferings attendant on this struggle". In my opinion it is absolutely essential to indicate *more definitely* those social consequences which weigh most heavily both upon the working class and the small producers.

An objection raised against the formulation of these consequences in the counterdraft, is, for instance, that the words "humiliation of every kind" are not true. I believe they are true, embracing as they do such phenomena as *prostitution*, the conversion of the "intelligentsia" into mere hirelings, the conversion of the worker into a seller of his wife and children, submission to the iron discipline of capital, the use of economic power for political oppression, for pressure on the freedom of opinion, and so on and so forth. In exactly the same way it seems to me absolutely essential to point to the "poverty and destitution of the masses" under capitalism. I am not proposing to speak of the absolute growth of poverty and destitution, but I fully share Kautsky's opinion that "*ein ausführliches s.-d. Programm, welches nicht erkennen lässt, dass der Kapitalismus naturnotwendig Massenarmut und Massenelend erzeugt, das nicht als den Inhalt des Strebens der Sd-tie den Kampf gegen diese Armut und dieses Elend bezeichnet, verschweigt die entscheidende Seite unserer Bewegung und enthält also eine empfindliche Lücke*"* (against the Austrian draft).

It is just as essential, as I see it, to point out that "all the principal" (hence, not absolutely all) "advantages of the process of development of the productive forces are monopolised by a negligible minority of the population".

§§ IX and X deal with crises. In view of the changed formulation, there is nothing in substance here to which exception could be taken. In form, however, these paragraphs suffer from repetitions (again "world market", again "capitalist production relations"). It would be far better to completely delete from the programme an attempt to *explain* crises,

* "... a detailed Social-Democratic programme which does not make it clear that capitalism must naturally lead to mass poverty and mass destitution, and does not regard the struggle against this poverty and this destitution as the content of Social-Democracy's aspirations, ignores the decisive aspect of our movement and thus has a conspicuous deficiency".—*Ed.*

limiting it to *noting* that they are inevitable, and leaving explanation and elaboration to the commentary. As it is, reference is made, for example, to crises and to "periods of stagnation", but on the whole the entire cycle of capitalist industry is not encompassed in any way.

The social consequences of crises are indicated, but again with repetitions (it is enough to mention the "aggravation" of the process, etc.) and again too vaguely: crises not only render the position of the small producers difficult, not only lead to the relative and absolute deterioration of their conditions, but actually ruin them and drive them into the ranks of the proletariat.

Against §§ XI and XII I have an extremely important objection in principle: these paragraphs present the relation of the proletariat to the small producers *in an altogether one-sided and incorrect way* (for "the working and exploited masses" consist of precisely the proletariat and the small producers). The two paragraphs are directly at variance with the fundamental theses of the *Communist Manifesto*, the General Rules of the International[8], and the majority of present-day Social-Democratic programmes; they leave the way open to Narodnik, "critical", and all sorts of petty-bourgeois misapprehensions.

"...The discontent of the working and exploited masses is growing"—that is true, but it is absolutely incorrect to identify the proletariat's discontent with that of the small producer, and merge the two as has been done here. The small producers' discontent very often engenders (and inevitably must engender in them or among a considerable section of them) an urge *to defend their existence as small proprietors*, i.e., to defend the foundations of the present-day order, and even to turn it back.

"...Their struggle and, above all, the struggle of their foremost representative, the proletariat, is becoming sharper...." The struggle is growing sharper among the small producers too, of course. But their "struggle" is *very often* directed *against* the proletariat, for in many respects the very position of the small producers *sharply contraposes* their interests to those of the proletariat. Generally speaking, the proletariat is *not at all* the petty bourgeoisie's "foremost representative". If that does occur, it is only when the small

producers realise that their doom is inevitable, when they "*d e s e r t* their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat". It happens very often, on the other hand, that the anti-Semite and the big landowner, the nationalist and the Narodnik, the social-reformer and the "critic of Marxism" are the foremost representatives of the *present-day* small producer who has not yet deserted "his own standpoint". It is least of all appropriate to lump together each and every kind of sharpening, particularly at the present time, when the "sharpening of the struggle" of the small producers is accompanied by "sharpening of the struggle" of the "socialist Gironde" against the "Mountain".[9]

"...International Social-Democracy stands at the head of the emancipation movement of *the working and exploited masses*...." Not at all. It stands at the head of the *working c l a s s alone*, of the *working-class movement* alone, and if other elements join this class these are only elements and not classes. And they come over completely and absolutely *only* when they "desert their own standpoint".

"...It organises *t h e i r* fighting forces...." Wrong again. Nowhere does Social-Democracy organise the "fighting forces" of the small producers. It organises the fighting forces of the working class alone. The formulation chosen in the draft is all the less appropriate *the less* it applies to Russia, the more *restricted the exposition* (cf. § V) is to "*d e v e l - o p e d*" bourgeois society.

Summa summarum. The draft speaks in *positive* form of the revolutionary spirit of the petty bourgeoisie (if it "supports" the proletariat, does this not signify that it is revolutionary?) without a single word about its conservatism (and even reactionary spirit). This is entirely one-sided and incorrect.

We can (and must) point in positive form to the conservatism of the petty bourgeoisie. And *o n l y i n c o n d i - t i o n a l f o r m* should we point *to its revolutionary spirit*. Only such a formulation will coincide in full with the entire spirit of Marx's teachings. For example, the *Communist Manifesto* declares outright that "of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie ... the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class.... The small manufacturer ... the artisan, the peasant ... *are not revolutionary*,

but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary.... If by chance they are revolutionary, ["if"]* they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat ... they *d e s e r t* their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat".[10]

Let it not be said that matters have changed substantially in the half century since the *Communist Manifesto*. It is precisely in this respect that nothing has changed: and theoreticians have always and constantly recognised this proposition (for instance, Engels in 1894 refuted the French agrarian programme from this very standpoint.[11] He stated outright that *until* the small peasant *deserts* his standpoint, he is not with us; his place is with the anti-Semites; let them put him through the mill, and the more the bourgeois parties dupe him, the more surely he will come over to us)—moreover, history furnishes a wealth of factual confirmation of this theory, right down to the most recent times, right down to *nos chers amis*, Messrs. the "Critics".

Besides, reference to the *dictatorship of the proletariat* contained in the original draft is missing here. Even if this were done accidentally, through an oversight, it is still indubitable that the concept of "dictatorship" is incompatible with *positive* recognition of outside support for the proletariat. If we really knew *positively* that the petty bourgeoisie will support the proletariat in the accomplishment of its, the proletariat's, revolution it would be pointless to speak of a "dictatorship", for we would then be fully guaranteed so overwhelming a majority that we could get on very well without a dictatorship (as the "critics" would have us believe). The recognition of the necessity for the *dictatorship* of the proletariat is *most closely and inseparably* bound up with the thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* that the proletariat *alone* is a really revolutionary class.

(Parenthetically—just how "jealous" Engels was about this part is evident from the following *passus* from his criticism of the Erfurt Draft. "*Der Ruin welter Volksschichten*,"** Engels cites from the draft, and remarks; "*statt*

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* Interpolations in square brackets (within passages quoted by Lenin) have been introduced by Lenin, unless otherwise indicated.—*Ed*.

** The ruin of the broad masses of the people."—*Ed*.

dieser deklamatorischen Phrase, die aussieht als täte uns der Ruin von Bourgeois und Kleinbürgern noch leid [!!], *würde ich die einfache Tatsache erzählen: die durch den Ruin der städtischen und ländlichen Mittelstände, der Kleinbürger und Kleinbauern, den Abgrund zwischen Besitzenden und Besitzlosen erweitern oder vertiefen.*"*)

I may be told that the counterdraft gives positive expression to the small producer's conservatism ("all the other classes of present-day society stand for the preservation of the foundations of the existing economic system"), whereas revolutionariness *is not expressed even conditionally*.

This objection is entirely unfounded. The small producer's conditional revolutionariness is expressed in the counterdraft in the only way it can be expressed, i.e., *in the wording of the indictment against capitalism*. The conditional revolutionariness of the small producer is expressed:

(1)—in the words about his *ousting and ruin* by capitalism. We, the proletariat, accuse capitalism of bringing about

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* ("in place of this declamatory phrase, which sounds as if we were in fact distressed by the ruin of the bourgeois and the petty bourgeois [!!], I would state the simple fact: through the ruin of the urban and rural middle estates—the petty bourgeois and the small peasants—the gulf between the propertied and the propertyless grows.—*Ed.*)[12]

The Erfurt draft programme contained the following *passus*: "*In diesem Befreiungskampf verficht die Sozialdemokratie als die Verfechterin* (or *Vertreterin—Neue Zeit*,[13] IX, 2, 789) *nicht bloss der Lohnarbeiter, sondern der Ausgebeuteten und Unterdrückten insgesamt, alle Forderungen, Massregeln und Einrichtungen, welche die Lage des Volkes vm allgemetnen und der Arbeiterklasse im besondern zu verbessern geeignet sind.*" ["In this struggle for emancipation, Social-Democracy fights as the champion (or representative) not only of the wage-workers, but of all the exploited and oppressed, for all demands, measures, and institutions that could improve the position of the people in general, and of the working class in particular."—*Ed.*] And Engels *positively* advised that this entire *passus* be *deleted*, asking sarcastically: "*des Volkes im allgemeinen* (*wer ist das*?)" ["The people in general (what does that mean?)."—*Ed.*] And, in accordance with Engels' advice, this *passus* was *completely scrapped*; the paragraph stating that "the emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself, since *a l l the o t h e r* classes stand for private ownership of the means of production and have the common aim of preserving the foundations of present-day society—*under the direct influence of Engels* this paragraph was adopted in a *sharper form* than in the original draft.

large-scale production through the *ruin* of the peasant. Hence, the direct conclusion that *if* the peasant grasps the inevitability of this process, he will "desert his own standpoint and place himself at ours".

(2)—in the words: "Insecurity of existence and unemployment, the yoke of exploitation, and humiliation of every kind and becoming the lot" (not only of the proletariat, but) "of ever wider sections of the working population." This very formulation expresses the fact that the proletariat provides *representation* of the entire working population, and moreover a representation under which we urge (and *compel*) all to desert *their* own standpoint and place themselves at ours, and not *vice versa*—we do not desert our own standpoint, and we do not merge our class struggle with the struggle of all sorts of weathercocks.

And the idea of representation is expressed in exactly the same way

(3)—in the words about the poverty and destitution of the masses (the masses in general, and not the workers alone).

It is *only in such form* that the party of the revolutionary class can express the conditional revolutionariness of the other classes, in order to lay before them *its* understanding of their destitution and the way to remedy that destitution, and, in *its* declaration of war on capitalism, to speak not only in its own name, but in the name of all the "poverty-stricken and destitute" masses. Hence it follows that whoever accepts this doctrine must join us. It would be simply ridiculous for us to make a special point of this in the programme and declare that *if* certain unreliable elements adopt our standpoint they too will be revolutionary! That would be the best way to destroy faith in us precisely among those half-hearted and flabby allies who, as it is, lack faith in us.*

* The more "indulgence" we show, in the practical part of our programme, towards the small producer (e.g., to the peasant), the "more strictly" must we treat these unreliable and double-faced social elements in the *theoretical* part of the programme, without sacrificing one iota of *our* standpoint. Now then, we say, if you adopt this, our, standpoint, you can count on "indulgence" of every kind, but if you don't, well then, don't get angry with us! Under the "dictatorship" we shall say about you: there is no point in wasting words where the use of power is required....

In addition to this objection to §§ XI and XII in principle, I also have a minor formal remark to make against § XI. This is not the proper place to speak about the "*material* possibility of doing away with capitalism"; what this paragraph deals with is *not* the material *but* the ideological prerequisites for capitalism to be done away with. If the material prerequisites are mentioned, then reference should also be made to the ideological (moral, etc.) prerequisites. It would, however, be far more correct to transfer this "material possibility" to the paragraph that deals with capitalism's evolution and tendencies, and not with the class struggle.

It is illogical to speak in § XII of the forthcoming social revolution—and only in § XV of this revolution itself and the necessity for it. The order should be reversed.

In § XIII, the substitution of the expression "expropriation of the exploiters" for the words "abolition (or elimination) of private ownership" is, in my opinion, not a happy one. It is less clear and precise. Nor is the end of the paragraph properly expressed: "the planned organisation of the social process of production so as to satisfy the needs of society as a whole, as well as its individual members". That is not enough. Organisation of that kind will, perhaps, be provided even by the trusts. It would be more definite to say "by society *as a whole*" (for this covers planning and indicates who is responsible for that planning), and not merely to satisfy the needs of its members, but with the object of ensuring *full* well-being and free, *all-round* development for *a l l* the members of society.

§ XIV is, in my opinion, indefinite (I do not yet know whether we shall emancipate "all" oppressed "humanity": as, for instance, the oppression of people of weak character by those of very strong character). If would be better to use the formulation given by Marx in his criticism of the Gotha Programme: the abolition of division into classes and of the inequality arising therefrom.[14] Engels too, in his criticism of the Erfurt Programme, insisted that *die Abschaflung der Klassen ist unsere Grundforderung*,* and that only by *a precise and outright reference* to this "fundamental demand"

* The abolition of classes is our fundamental demand.[15]—*Ed.*

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

shall we impart an *absolutely definite* (and not exaggerated) meaning to our promises to emancipate all and to rid all of all evils.

§ XV—I have already dealt above with "support of the proletariat by other sections of the population" and with the omission of the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

§ XVI is altogether strange and out of place. "The political education" of the proletariat consists in our enlightening it, organising it and directing its struggle—and that has already been dealt with in § XII (to which only "leadership of its struggle" should be added).

§ XVII also seems to me superfluous verbosity. What is the point of speaking generally about the dependence of our immediate tasks on various social and political situations? Let this be dealt with in treatises, whereas we should say plainly that certain definite peculiarities (remnants of serf-ownership, the autocracy, etc.) modify our immediate task in a certain definite way.

§ XVIII: "In Russia capitalism is more and more becoming the predominant mode of production...." That is unquestionably insufficient. It has already become predominant (if I say that 60 has already become predominant over 40, it does not at all mean that 40 does not exist or that it has been reduced to insignificance). We still have so many Narodniks, pro-Narodnik liberals, and "critics" rapidly reverting to Narodnik ideas that it is impermissible to leave room for the slightest vagueness on this point. And if capitalism has not yet even become "predominant", then it would be better perhaps to wait awhile with Social-Democracy as well.

"... advancing Social-Democracy *to the very first place*...." Capitalism *is* only just *becoming* predominant, but we are already in the "very first" place.... In my opinion, we should not talk at all about the very first place: that is self-evident from the entire programme. Let us leave it to history to say this about us, rather than say it ourselves.

The draft evidently rejects the expression: the old, *serf-owning* social system, considering the expression "serf-ownership" applicable only to the *legal* structure. I believe that this distinction is groundless: "serf-ownership" was, of course, a juridical institution, but it also corresponded to a specific

system of landlord (and peasant) *economy*, and, besides, it manifested itself in numerous day-by-day relationships that were not provided for "by law". For this reason it is scarcely advisable to avoid the expression: "the pre-capitalist, serf-owning social system".

The "description" of serfdom (that the masses were, so to speak, baptised chattels) is utterly out of place and superfluous in our programme.

On the other hand, it is insufficient to say about the influence of the remnants of the serf-owning system that they weigh heavily upon the mass of working people. We must also indicate the retardation in the development of the country's productive forces, and other social consequences of serfdom.*

§ XIX. In my opinion, it is quite superfluous to state that to us democracy (*resp.* political liberty) is a "transitional stage" (transitional to what? After all, we openly say below that a republic is our *immediate* practical demand)—and that a constitution is "the natural legal complement ["property" of—obviously a mistake in copying] to capitalist production relations". This is absolutely out of place in the programme. It would be wholly sufficient for us to say that the autocracy retards or restricts "*a l l* social development": hence, the development of capitalism is also incompatible with it. Details on this score should be relegated to the commentary, for in the programme they even weaken our declaration of war on the autocracy, imparting a bookish and abstract air to the programme.

Moreover, what is the point of these general passages about legal complements to capitalism and about a "legal structure" (§ XX), when later we speak much more directly and definitely about a republic? (Besides, § XX contains the expression "the old serf-owning system", i.e., here the draft itself attributes to the word "serf-ownership" a broader meaning than the purely juridical.)

Nor is there any point in speaking about the autocracy being incompatible with a legal structure, since the demand for the former's overthrow and replacement by a

* Incidentally. The expression in the counterdraft: "the Asiatically barbarous *way in which* the peasantry *is dying out*" is a poor one. Way of disappearance, or something like that, could be said.

republic follows immediately. It would be better to express ourselves more definitely about the people's "lack of rights" under the autocracy, etc.

"... The autocracy is the bitterest enemy of the aspirations of the working class towards emancipation...." To this should be added: "and of the cultural development of the whole people," or words to that effect. In this way (and not by talking about "representation") we shall indicate that Social-Democracy represents the interests not only of the working class, but of *all* social progress.

Summing up all the above notes, I find four basic shortcomings in the draft, which, in my opinion, render it unacceptable:

1) extreme *abstractness* of many of the formulations, so that they might seem intended for a series of lectures rather than for a militant party;

2) evasion and obscuring of the question of specifically *Russian capitalism* are a particularly serious shortcoming, since the programme should provide a compendium and guide for agitation against Russian capitalism. We must come out with a direct appraisal of Russian capitalism and with an open declaration of war against it specifically;

3) the altogether one-sided and incorrect presentation of the *relation of the proletariat to the small producers*, which cuts the ground from under our feet in the war against the "critics" and many others;

4) the constant endeavour in the programme to give *explanations* of the process. The explanations fail in their purpose anyway, and the exposition becomes prolix, numerous repetitions occur, and the programme constantly lapses into a commentary.

Written in late February-
early March 1902

OPINION ON PLEKHANOV'S SECOND DRAFT

Four basic shortcomings pervade the whole draft and, in my opinion, make it entirely unacceptable:

1) In the manner of formulation of the most important section, which contains a definition of capitalism, this draft is a programme of an economic *textbook* on capitalism in general rather than a programme for the proletariat, which is *fighting* against very real manifestations of a very definite capitalism.

2) The programme is particularly unsuitable for the party of the *Russian* proletariat, because the evolution of Russian capitalism and the antagonisms and social evils engendered by Russian capitalism are almost entirely evaded and obscured by the selfsame system of defining capitalism in general. In its programme the party of the Russian proletariat should formulate in the most unambiguous manner its arraignment of Russian capitalism, its declaration of war on Russian capitalism. This is all the more necessary inasmuch as the Russian programme cannot be identical in this respect with the European programmes: the latter speak of capitalism and of bourgeois society without indicating that these concepts are equally applicable to Austria, Germany, and so on, because that goes without saying. In relation to Russia this cannot be taken for granted.

To dispense with the question by saying that capitalism "in its developed form" is distinguished *in general* by such and such features—and in Russia capitalism "is becoming predominant"—is to *evade* making the concrete arraignment and declaration of war that is most important for a party engaged in a practical struggle.

That is why the draft fails to achieve one of the principal aims of a programme: to provide the Party with a directive for its day-by-day propaganda and agitation concerning all the various manifestations of Russian capitalism.

3) Some of the most important paragraphs are formulated in the draft with an inaccuracy which will inevitably engender most dangerous misinterpretations and hamper our theoretical struggle and propaganda. Thus, for example, the growth of large-scale production is limited to "industrial" enterprises. The evolution of agrarian capitalism is disregarded or even evaded. Further, instead of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" there is "the revolution which the proletariat will have to effect with the support of other sections of the population which are suffering from capitalist exploitation", and even the class struggle of the proletariat has been replaced by "the struggle of the working and exploited masses". This formulation contradicts the basic principle of the International: "The emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself." Besides the proletariat, the other part of the "working and exploited masses" (i.e., mainly the small producers) is *only partially* revolutionary in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is revolutionary only when, "with a view to joining the proletariat", it "*places itself at the standpoint of the proletariat*" (*The Communist Manifesto*). As for the reactionary nature of the small producers, that is not brought out in the draft, so that *on the whole* the relation of the proletariat to the "working and exploited masses" is presented *incorrectly*. (For example, the draft reads: "their struggle [the struggle of the working and exploited masses] and, above all, the struggle of their foremost representative, the proletariat, is becoming sharper." "The sharpening of the struggle" of the small producers is expressed in anti-Semitism, in Caesarism, in peasant unions against the farm labourers, and even in the struggle of the socialist Gironde against the Mountain. Representation of all the working and exploited masses by the proletariat should be expressed in the programme in our *arraignment* of capitalism for the poverty of the *m a s s e s* (and not only for the poverty of the working class), for unemployment among "ever wider sections of the working population" [and not of the working class].)

4) The draft constantly slips away from a programme in the strict sense of the word towards a *commentary*. A programme should give *concise statements*, without a single superfluous word, and leave all *explanations* to commentaries, pamphlets, agitation, etc. Engels was therefore fully justified when he accused the Erfurt Programme of being too long, abounding in too much detail and repetition, so as to tend towards becoming a commentary.

In the draft this shortcoming is still more manifest; there is a dreadful amount of repetition; in any case, the attempts made to introduce explanations of the process into the programme (instead of merely giving a definition of the process) fail to achieve their purpose and render the programme impossibly prolix.

Written in late February-
early March 1902

REMARKS ON THE COMMITTEE'S DRAFT PROGRAMME[16]

TEXT OF THE COMMITTEE'S DRAFT	LENIN'S REMARKS
	A question mark indicates a desire to improve the style.
1. The development of international exchange has established such close ties among all nations of the civilised world, that the great emancipation movement of the proletariat had to become, and has long become, an international movement.	
2. For this reason the Russian Social-Democrats regard their Party as one of the detachments of the world army of the proletariat, as part of international Social-Democracy, and pursue the same ultimate aim as the Social-Democrats of all other countries.	The style needs brushing up. This "as" is not good Russian. Clumsy style. "They pursue the same ultimate aim as the Social-Democrats of all other countries have set themselves", or something to that effect.
3. This ultimate aim is determined by bourgeois society's nature and course of development.	I would recommend that "nature and" be deleted as superfluous words. The *ultimate aim* is determined by the *course* and not by the modifications of

this general "course" that are explained by the concept of "nature of development". Hence, these superfluous words are also not quite accurate.

This society is characterised by the domination of commodity production under capitalist production relations, i.e., by the fact that the most important and most considerable part of the articles of consumption is produced

Why only "articles of consumption"? What about means of production? "Products", etc., would be better.

for sale on the home or world market, and the most important and most considerable part of the means

These words should, in my opinion, be deleted. Unnecessary repetition.

of production and of circulation of these articles of consumption—commodities—

These words should be deleted. Commodities are not limited to articles of consumption.

belongs to a relatively small

(Instead of "relatively small", *perhaps negligible*, since the words: "*most* important and most considerable part" are sufficiently restrictive. But this is not important.)

class of persons, ∨ whereas the overwhelming majority of the population consists partly of persons who possess no means of production

∨ The words "to the capitalists and landowners" should be added. Otherwise the result is an *abstract concept* which is particularly *out of place* in conjunction with the subsequent "peasants and handicraftsmen".

and of circulation whatever (proletarians)

"And of circulation" should be deleted. Proletarians of the purest water can have and do have "means of circulation" which are exchanged for *articles of consumption.*

and partly of those who have at their disposal only very insignificant means of production, which do not ensure their existence (certain sections of small producers, as, for instance, small peasants and handicraftsmen). All these persons are forced by their economic position to sell their labour-power *constantly* or *periodically* i.e., to hire themselves to the owners of the means of production and of circulation of commodities, and by their labour create the latter's income.

The style requires brushing up!
? "Means of production" *ensure* (?) existence.

4. The domination of capitalist production relations grows more and more as constant technical progress, by increasing the economic importance of the big enterprises, ousts the independent small producers, that is, causes a relative decline in their number by converting part of them into proletarians, diminishes the role of the others in social and economic life, and at places makes them more or less completely, more or less obviously, more or less onerously, dependent upon the big manufacturers.

"Upon capital"—not only upon big capital.

5. By converting part of the independent small producers into proletarians, this technical progress leads to a still greater

?

increase in the supply of labour-power, making it possible for the manufacturers to employ female and child labour to an ever greater extent in the process of commodity production and circulation. And since, on the other hand, this same process of technical (machine) progress leads to a relative decrease in the manufacturers' need of the workers' physical labour, the demand for labour-power necessarily lags behind its supply, as a consequence of which the dependence of wage-labour on capital increases and the exploitation of the former by capital is intensified. The share of the working class in the sum-total of the social income created by its labour is constantly diminishing.

?

These words should be deleted as a needless repetition of the idea already expressed in the preceding proposition.

In general, § 5 brings out in particular relief the general defect of the draft: *long periods* and an undesirable *prolixity* of exposition. Incidentally: this results in what Engels in his criticism of the Erfurt Draft called "*schiefe Nebenbedeutung*".* For instance, it appears as if the increase in the employment of female and child labour is due *solely* to the "conversion" of the independent small producers into proletarians, whereas this is not so; it also takes place *prior to* such "*c o n v e r s i o n*". The beginning of § 5 is a superfluous repetition.

* "The possibility of misinterpretation".—*Ed.*

6. This state of affairs within bourgeois so-

Over-production, which causes more or less severe industrial crises, followed by more or less lengthy periods of industrial stagnation, is an inevitable result of the growth of the productive forces, in the absence of planning, which is characteristic of commodity production, and under the capitalist production relations inherent in present-day society. In their turn crises and periods of industrial stagnation render the position of the independent small producers still more difficult and lead still more rapidly to the relative and, in some places, even the absolute deterioration in the proletarians' conditions.

Omission.

Repetition again!!

This is insufficient. Not only do they "render their position difficult", but *ruin* them outright on a mass scale.

The first part of §6 would gain a great deal if it were made shorter.

7. Thus, technical progress, which implies an increase in labour productivity and the growth of social wealth, entails, in bourgeois society, an increase in social inequality, a widening of the distance between the propertied and the propertyless, a growth of insecurity of existence, unemployment and poverty of every description.

"*Growth* of poverty of every description"—this borrowing from my draft is not a very apt one. I did not speak about the *g r o w t h* of poverty. "Of every description" includes "*absolute*" too. The reference to the *poverty of the masses* should therefore be worded somewhat differently.

8. But, as all these contradictions, inherent in the capitalist mode of production, grow and develop, the working and exploited masses' discontent with the existing order of things also grows, and the struggle of their foremost representative—the proletariat—against the champions of this order becomes sharper.

§8 shows the committee's *stubborn disinclination* to observe the precise and unambiguous *c o n d i t i o n* it was set at its very "birth". *On the basis of this condition* an insertion should have been made (which the committee has done in §10), and, *m o r e o v e r*, before the insertion the text should deal only with the class struggle of the proletariat *a l o n e*. This latter demand, clearly expressed in the conciliation agreement, was *not carried out* by the committee, and I consider that I am within my rights in insisting that it be carried out.

Prior to what is stated at the end of §10, it is *i n c o r r e c t* to speak of the discontent of all the working masses in general and to call the proletariat their "foremost representative", since this is true *o n l y u n d e r t h e c o n d i t i o n* expressed at the end of §10. The committee presents the conditional as something unconditional. The half-heartedness of the small producer and his *s e m i-r e a c t i o n a r y s p i r i t have not been in any way expressed* by the committee: this is quite impermissible. The result is that

the *possibility* of finding this small producer (or a *part* of this section) among the *principled* "champions of this order" (the same phrase in § 8!!) has been entirely *f o r g o t t e n ! !* And yet this possibility *v e r y* often becomes a reality before our very eyes.

In order to have the right to speak of the movement of the proletariat, its class struggle and even the *class dictatorship*, it is necessary *first to single out* this *o n e* class, and then only to add something about its role as a representative. Otherwise the result is a lack of coherence in the draft; § 8 *is not connected* in strict logic either *with the continuation* (why not a "dictatorship of the working masses"??), *or with the beginning* (if all the social antagonisms are aggravated, that *m e a n s* that the struggle of the *t w o c l a s s e s* grows ever sharper, and this is something the committee has forgotten to point out!!). It does not hang together.

At the same time, technical progress, by socialising the process of labour within the workshop and concentrating production,

The socialisation of labour is far from being limited to what takes place within the workshop: this passage must be corrected.

more and more rapidly creates the possibility of the social revolution, which constitutes the ultimate aim of the entire activity of international Social-Democracy, as the conscious spokesman of the class movement of the proletariat.

+ "and *the necessity*" (for the social revolution).

Compare. N.B.

9. This social revolution will consist in the removal of capitalist production relations and their substitution by socialist production relations, i.e., it will consist in the expropriation of the exploiters for the purpose of converting the means of production and of circulation of products into public property, and in the planned organisation of the social production process so as to satisfy the needs of both society as a whole and its individual members.

?

Not accurate. *Such* "satisfaction" is "given" by capitalism as well, but *not to all* members of society and *not in equal degree.*

The achievement of this aim will emancipate all of oppressed humanity, since it will put an end to all forms of the exploitation of one part of society by another.

—My objections have already been set forth—N.B.*

10. To effect its social revolution, the proletariat must win political power (*the class dictatorship*), which will make it master of the situation and enable it to surmount all obstacles. Organising for this purpose into an independent political party, which is opposed to all bourgeois parties,

?

"Opposed to *a l l* bourgeois parties" means to the *petty-bourgeois* parties as well, does it not?? But the *majority* of the petty bourgeois are "working and exploited". That does not hang together.

* See pp. 26, 52 of this volume.—*Ed.*

the proletariat calls upon all other sections of the population which are suffering from capitalist exploitation to join its ranks,

Social-Democracy organises and calls *upon*. "The proletariat ... calls into its (!) sections"—*ganz unmöglich!**

counting on their support, inasmuch as they are conscious of the hopelessness of their position in present-day society and place themselves at the standpoint of the proletariat.

The words "counting on their support" should be deleted. They are *redundant* (if it calls upon, that means it counts on) and have *schiefe Nebenbedeutung*. It calls upon those who are conscious, inasmuch as they are conscious, *das genügt*.**

11. The Social-Democratic Party, the party of the fighting proletariat directs all manifestations of its class struggle, discloses to the whole of the working and exploited masses the irreconcilable antagonism between the interests of the exploiters and the interests of the exploited, and explains to them the historical significance and the indispensable prerequisites for the future social revolution.

"Irreconcilability of their (the masses) interests with the very existence of capitalism", or a similar correction. Not all the working people find themselves in a position wherein their interests" are "irreconcilably" opposed to the interests of the exploiters. The working peasant has *s o m e t h i n g*, somewhat, $\frac{a}{n}$, **in common** with the big landowner. We need more *general* and broader statements, lest the result

* Quite impossible!—The reference is to an infelicity in the Russian style.—*Ed*.

** That is enough.—*Ed*.

12. But despite the identity of their common ultimate aim, an identity conditioned by the dominance of the same mode of production throughout the civilised world, the Social-Democrats of different countries do not set themselves the same *immediate* tasks, both because this mode is not everywhere developed in equal degree and also because its development in different countries takes place under varying social and political conditions.

be an inaccuracy and amount to *phrase-mongering*.

? Style!!

§12—the end. An attempt should be made to shorten this. It would by very useful for this paragraph to shrink. Would it not be possible to condense ten words into two by saying "national features", or a similar expression?

13. In Russia, side by side with capitalism, which is rapidly extending the sphere of its domination and more and more becoming the predominant mode of production, we still meet at every step remnants of our old, pre-capitalist social order, which was based on bondage of the masses of working people to the landlords, to the state, or to the head of the state. These remnants retard the development of the productive forces in the highest degree, hamper the all-round development of the proletariat's class struggle, lower the working population's standard of living, are responsible for the Asiatically barbarous way in which the many-million-strong peasantry is being ruined and

§13—the beginning. My most humble thanks for the tiny step in my direction. But "becoming the predominant...."*

N.B.

? Style!

* At this point Lenin expresses his opinion of a piece of infelicitous phrasing in the draft.—*Ed.*

reduced to degradation, and keep entire people in a state of ignorance total absence of rights, and subjection.

§ 13—the end. Correction desirable: I have already suggested *how* (my amendments to my draft*), or you get "... barbarous way in which ... is being ruined and reduced to degradation..."?

14. As the most outstanding of all survivals of our serf-owning system and the most formidable bulwark of all this barbarism, the tsarist autocracy is wholly incompatible with political and civil liberties, which have long been in existence in the advanced countries of capitalist production, as the natural legal complement to that production.

? Style.

"*Natural* legal complement"—a correct thought very badly expressed. For capitalism the "naturalness" of liberty is complicated by 1,001 social and historical factors, which the word "natural" does not bring out. Moreover, it smacks, reeks, of a sort of liberalism. Something should be said to the effect that the "autocracy is *inevitably* doomed to death by the *entire* development of capitalism, which imperatively requires civil and political liberties for the expression of its increasingly complex interests", or something like that, in short, the idea of *inevitability* should be expressed, without giving rise to misunder-

* See p. 32 of this volume.—*Ed.*

standings by attributing this inevitability to "natural" developments.

By its very nature it must crush every social movement and is bound to be the bitterest enemy of all the proletariat's emancipatory aspirations.

?

This won't do. *Not* every: bimetallism (and pre-Raphaelitism) are also "social movements". This must be amended.

For these reasons, Russian Social-Democracy advances as its immediate political task the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a republic based on a democratic constitution that would ensure, etc.

On the whole, the more one reads the Committee's draft, the more one is convinced of the fact that it is, so to say, *semi-digested*. I take it upon myself to predict that this quality in the draft will bring down upon us a great deal of justified reproaches, if we publish it in *such* a form. *Everyone* will see that it is just "pasted together".

If the Lord God has chosen to punish us for our sins by obliging us to come out with a "mongrel" draft, we should at least do *everything* in our power to *reduce* the unhappy consequences. Therefore, those who are *above all* guided by a desire to "get through with it as quickly as possible" are quite wrong. It may be taken for granted that *now*, given such a constellation, nothing but evil will come of haste, and our editorial draft will be unsatisfactory. It is not absolutely necessary to publish it in No. 4 of *Zarya*[17]: we can publish it in No. 5 and in a special impression *before* No. 5 appears. If we do this, a delay of a month or so will do no harm at all to the Party. And, indeed, it would be better if the illustrious committee goes over it again thoroughly, thinks it over, digests it, and gives us a draft *of its own*, an integral draft, rather than one that has been pasted together. Let me repeat: if this task is unrealisable, it would be far better to revert to the plan of two drafts (and we

shall be fully able to carry out this plan without *any* "awkwardness": Plekhanov publishes his draft over his signature in *Zarya*, and I publish mine "on the side", in Geneva, as X, Y or Z). I hereby most respectfully request the august Board to give its *close* consideration to "all the circumstances of the case".

12.IV.1902—I am writing in the train: I apologise for the scribble. If I have time, I shall write again and more clearly.

Written on March 30 (April 12), 1902

ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE COMMITTEE'S DRAFT PROGRAMME

Besides my remarks written on the draft itself, I should like to note the following:

§ 3. "Society (bourgeois) is characterised by the domination of commodity production *under* capitalist production relations, *i.e.*" ... then follows a description of the basic features of capitalism. The result is an incongruity: the "*i.e.*" connects dissimilar, unequal concepts, namely, 1) the *modification* of commodity production in a form conditioned by the domination of capitalist production relations, and 2) the sale of products on the market and the sale of their labour-power by the masses of the population.

This incongruity, this equating of the *b a s i c* and most general features of commodity production in general and of capitalism in general—and the modifications of commodity production on the basis of capitalist production relations (then commodities are no longer exchanged *simply* according to value)—clearly shows how poor G. V. Plekhanov's formulation is (and yet the committee adopted this formulation, merely rephrasing it). In a programme that presents only the most general and basic features of capitalism *and does not set forth even the theory of surplus-value*, we suddenly "nod" to Böhm-Bawerk by calling to mind that "commodity production on the basis of capitalism" is not quite the same as simple commodity production! If so, then why not add to the programme special references to Mikhailovsky, Berdayev, and the like? On the one hand, only one very general socialist expression is used to cover even all of Marx's teachings about the exploitation of labour by capital: "create by their labour the latter's income" (end of § 3)—and

on the other hand, note is made of the specific transformation of surplus-value into profit under "commodity production on the basis of capitalist production relations".

G. V. Plekhanov is quite right when he states that the words "commodity production on the basis of capitalist production relations" express the fundamental idea of Volume III.[18] But that is all. There is no point in including this idea in the programme—just as there is no point in describing in the programme the mechanism of realisation, which is the fundamental idea of Volume II, or in describing the conversion of excess profit into ground rent. In the programme it is sufficient to *n o t e* the exploitation of labour by capital = the creation of surplus-value, whereas to speak of every kind of *transformation* and modification of the forms of this surplus-value is out of place (and impossible in a few short propositions).

ADDITION CONCERNING THE CLASS STRUGGLE

I fully share V. Zasulich's opinion that in our country it is possible to attract a much larger proportion of small producers into the ranks of Social-Democracy and much more rapidly (than in the West), that to achieve this we must do *a l l* in our power, and that this "wish" should be expressed in the programme "against" the Martynovs and Co. I am in full agreement with all this. *I w e l c o m e* the addition that has been made at the end of § 10—I emphasise this to avoid any misunderstanding.

However, there is no need to go to the other extreme, as V. Zasulich does! A "wish" should not be confused with *reality*, and with immanently necessary reality at that, to which alone our *Prinzipienerklärung** is devoted. It would be desirable to attract *a l l* the small producers—naturally. But we know that they constitute a special class, even if bound to the proletariat by a thousand ties and intermediate grades, but nevertheless a special class.

In the first place it is essential *to draw a line of demarcation* between ourselves and all others, to single out the proletariat *alone and e x c l u s i v e l y*, and only *t h e n* declare

* A declaration of principles.—*Ed.*

that the proletariat will emancipate all, that it calls on all, invites all.

I agree to this "then", but I demand that this "in the first place" should come first!

Here in Russia the monstrous sufferings of the "working and exploited masses" did not rouse any *popular* movement until a "handful" of factory workers began the struggle, the class struggle. And *o n l y* this "handful" guarantees the conduct, continuation, and *extension* of this struggle. It is in Russia, where the critics (Bulgakov) accuse the Social-Democrats of "peasantophobia", and the Socialist-Revolutionaries[19] shout of the need for *r e p l a c i n g* the concept of the class struggle by the concept of "the struggle of *a l l* the working and exploited" (*Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*, No. 2[20])—it is in Russia that we must, *in the first place*, *draw a line of demarcation* between ourselves and all this riffraff, by means of the most clear-cut definition of the class struggle alone of the proletariat *a l o n e*—and only then declare that we *call on all*, that we shall undertake everything, take everything, extend to include everything. But the committee "extends", while forgetting to draw a line of demarcation!! And I am accused of being narrow-minded because I demand that this extension be *preceded* by "demarcation"?! But that is trickery, gentlemen!!

The struggle inevitably facing us tomorrow against the combined forces of the critics + the more Leftist gentlemen of *Russkiye Vedomosti* and *Russkoye Bogatstvo*[21] + the Socialist-Revolutionaries will most imperatively demand of us that very *demarcation* between the *class struggle* of the proletariat and the "struggle" (is it a struggle?) "of the working and exploited masses". Phrase-mongering about these masses is a trump card in the hands of all the *unsicheren Kantonisten*,* and the committee is playing into their hands and depriving us of a weapon for the struggle against half-heartedness, in order to emphasise one half! But do not forget the other half!

Written in April 1902

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* Unreliable cantonists. In this context—"unreliable allies".—*Ed.*

AN AMENDMENT TO THE AGRARIAN SECTION OF THE PROGRAMME[22]

I propose the following amendment to Clause 4 of our agrarian programme: instead of "Establishment of peasant committees (a) for the restitution to the village communes (by expropriation, *or*, *when the land has changed hands*, *by redemption*, *etc.*) of the land", etc., to state: "Establishment of peasant committees (a) for the restitution to the village communes (by expropriation) of the land which..." etc.,

i.e., to scrap the italicised words.

It seems to me that this amendment should be made for the following considerations:

1. In the agrarian programme we present our "maximum", our "socio-revolutionary demands" (see my commentary[23]). Allowing land redemption, however, runs counter to the socio-revolutionary nature of the entire demand.

2. Both the historical tradition of "redemption" (that of 1861)[24] and its very content (cf. the well-known phrase: "redemption is nothing but purchase")[25] give it the specific flavour of a mawkishly well-intentioned and bourgeois measure. Our allowing land redemption makes it not impossible for the entire essence of our demand to be discredited (and there will be more than enough vilifiers prepared to do this.)*

3. The fear that an "injustice" would be committed by taking away the cut-off lands from people who have paid money for them is groundless. We have in any case set two restrictive conditions for this measure of restituting the

* By allowing land redemption, we are *degrading* the restitution of the cut-off lands from an extraordinary, revolutionary measure to the most petty "reform".

cut-off lands: [(1)—"the lands cut off in 1861", and (2)—"*now* used as a means of keeping the peasants in bondage".] It is absolutely right to confiscate property serving the purposes of *feudal* exploitation, and to do so without compensation. (Let the purchaser of the cut-off lands then sue the seller—that is no affair of ours.)

4. By allowing "redemption", we are placing the onus of *monetary* payment on the peasants, who by reason of labour rent were most deeply involved in natural economy: the abruptness of the transition to *monetary payments* may ruin the peasants *in an especially rapid way*, and this would run counter to the entire spirit of our programme.

5. Even if a purchaser of cut-off lands is to be "compensated" *by way of exception*, this should by no means be done at the expense of the peasants, who have the moral and historical right to these cut-off lands. "Compensation" can be made by giving a corresponding plot somewhere in the border regions, etc.; but that does not concern us.

I ask everyone to vote: *For* = discarding the words about redemption, deleting the words I have indicated.

Against = endorsing of the old text.

1) G. V.—
2) P. B.—
3) V. I.—
4) Berg—
5) A. N.—
6) Frey—for.

Written in April 1902

SIGNS OF BANKRUPTCY

Only a year has elapsed since Bogolepov[26] was struck by Karpovich's bullet, which cleared the way for a "new course" in the government's policy towards the universities. During this year we have observed successively an unusual surge of social indignation, an unusually gentle note in speeches by our rulers, a regretfully all-too-usual infatuation of society with these new speeches, an infatuation which has extended to a certain section of the students as well, and, lastly, following on the fulfilment of Vannovsky's florid promises, a new outburst of students' protests. To those who last spring expected a "new era" and seriously believed that the tsarist drill sergeant would fulfil but a modicum of the hopes harboured by students and society—in short, to the Russian liberals, it should now be clear how mistaken they were in once again giving credence to the government, how little justification there was for halting the movement for reform which in the spring had begun to assume impressive forms, and for allowing themselves to be lulled by the sweet strains coming from the government sirens. After the promise to reinstate at the universities all last year's victims had been broken, after a series of new reactionary measures had flung a challenge to all those who demanded a real reform of the educational system, after a series of fresh and violent reprisals against demonstrators who demanded that the fraudulent bankrupt should make good his promises—after all this the government of "cordial concern" has published "provisional regulations"[27] for student organisations as means of "pacification", and ... instead of "pacification" is confronted with a general conflagrations of "disorders" again involving all educational institutions.

We, revolutionaries, have never for a moment believed that Vannovsky's promised reforms were meant in earnest. We kept on telling the liberals that the circulars of this "cordial" general and the rescripts of Nicholas Obmanov[28] were just another manifestation of the liberal policy the autocracy has become so adept in during forty years of struggle against the "internal enemy", i.e., against all progressive elements in Russia. We warned the liberals against the "pipe dreams" they began to indulge in following the government's very first steps in the spirit of the "new course". We exposed the deliberate falsity of the government's promises, and warned society: "If your opponent has been stunned by the first serious assault, keep on showering fresh blows at him, redoubling their strength and frequency...." That travesty of the right to organise which the "provisional regulations" are now offering the students was predicted by the revolutionaries from the very beginning of the talk about this new gift from the government. We knew what could and should have been expected of the autocracy and its miserable attempt at reform. We knew that Vannovsky would "pacify" nobody and nothing, that he would not fulfil any progressive hopes, and that the "disorders" would inevitably recur in one form or another.

A year has passed, but society is still marking time. The higher educational institutions that are supposed to exist in any well-ordered state have again stopped functioning. Tens of thousands of young people have again had the tenor of their life upset, and society is again faced with the old question: "What next?"

A considerable majority of the students have refused to recognise the "provisional regulations" and the organisations allowed by them. With greater determination than they usually show, the professors are expressing obvious dissatisfaction with this gift of the government. And, indeed, one does not have to be a revolutionary, one does not have to be a radical, to recognise that this so-called "reform" not only fails to give the students anything resembling freedom, but is also worthless as a means of bringing any tranquillity into university life. Is it not immediately obvious that these "provisional regulations" create in advance a series of causes for conflict between the students and the author-

ities? Is it not obvious that the introduction of these regulations threatens to turn any students' meeting, lawfully called for the most peaceful purpose, into a starting-point for fresh "disorders"? Can it be doubted, for example, that by presiding at such meetings the inspectors, who exercise police functions, will constantly annoy some, evoke protest in others, and intimidate and gag yet others? And is it not clear that Russian students will not allow the character of the discussions at such meetings to be forcibly determined at the "discretion" of the authorities?

Yet the "right" of assembly and organisation granted by the government in the absurd form established by the "provisional regulations" is the *maximum* that the autocracy can give the students, if it is to remain an autocracy. Any further step in this direction would amount to a suicidal disturbance of the equilibrium on which the government's relations with its "subjects" rest. Reconciling themselves to this maximum that the government can offer, or intensifying the *political*, *revolutionary* character of their protest—such is the dilemma the students are facing. The majority are adopting the latter alternative. More clearly than ever before, a revolutionary note rings in the students' appeals and resolutions. The policy of alternating brutal repression with Judas kisses is doing its work and revolutionising the mass of students.

Yes, in one way or another, the students have settled the question confronting them and have declared that they are again prepared to take up the weapon they laid aside (under the influence of the lullabies). But what does society, which seems to have dozed off to these treacherous lullabies, intend to do? Why does it persist in maintaining silence and in "sympathising on the quiet"? Why is nothing heard of *society's* protests, *its* active support for the renewed unrest? Is it really prepared to wait "calmly" for the inevitable tragic events by which every student movement has been attended hitherto? Does it really intend to confine itself to the wretched role of teller of the number of victims in the struggle and passive observer of its shocking scenes? Why do we not hear the voice of the "fathers", when the "children" have unequivocally declared their intention to offer up new sacrifices on the altar of

Russian freedom? Why does our society not support the students at least in the way the workers have already supported them? After all, the higher educational institutions are attended not by the proletarians' sons and brothers, and yet the workers in Kiev, Kharkov, and Ekaterinoslav have already openly declared their sympathy with the protesters, despite a number of "precautionary measures" taken by the police authorities and despite their threats to use armed force against demonstrators. Is it possible that this manifestation of the revolutionary idealism of the Russian proletariat will not influence the behaviour of society, which is vitally and directly interested in the fate of the students, and will not urge it to energetic protest?

The student "disorders" this year are beginning under fairly favourable portents. They are assured the sympathy of the "crowd", "the street". It would be a criminal mistake on the part of liberal society not to make every effort to completely demoralise the government by giving *timely* support to the students, and to wrest real concessions from it.

The immediate future will show how far our liberal society is capable of such a role. The outcome of the present student movement largely depends on the answer to this question. But whatever that outcome may be, one thing is certain: the recurrence of general student disorders after so brief a lull is a sign of the political bankruptcy of the present system. For three years the universities have been unable to settle down to normal life, studies are conducted by fits and starts, one of the cogs of the state machine is ceasing to function and, after turning uselessly for a time, is again coming to a standstill for a long while. There can be no doubt that under the present political regime there is no radical cure for this disease. The late Bogolepov sought to save the fatherland by a "heroic" method borrowed from the outmoded medicine prescribed by Nicholas I. We know what that led to. It is obvious that there can be no further progress in *this* direction. The policy of flirting with the students has now suffered a fiasco. But there is no other way besides violence and flirtation, and each new manifestation of this unquestionable bankruptcy of the existing regime will undermine its

foundations more and more, depriving the government of all prestige in the eyes of the indifferent philistines, and increasing the number of people who realise the need to struggle against it.

Yes, the bankruptcy of the autocracy is beyond doubt, and it is hurrying to announce the fact to the world at large. Is it not a declaration of bankruptcy that "a state of emergency" has been proclaimed in a good third of the Empire, and local authorities in all parts of Russia have come out simultaneously with "compulsory decrees" forbidding, under pain of severe penalties, acts that Russian laws do not allow as it is? By their very nature, all emergency regulations, which suspend the operation of ordinary laws, are meant to operate for only a limited time and in a limited area. The assumption is that extra-ordinary circumstances demand the temporary application of emergency measures in definite localities for the purpose of restoring the equilibrium necessary for the unimpeded operation of ordinary laws. That is the argument used by representatives of the existing regime. Twenty odd years have elapsed since the introduction of the emergency law. Twenty years of its operation in the principal centres of the Empire have not brought about the "pacification" of the country, or restored public order. After this powerful remedy has been in use for twenty years, it appears that the disease of "unreliability", which it was devised to combat, has become so widespread and struck such deep roots as to make it necessary to extend it to all towns and factory centres of any importance! Is this not bankruptcy, openly declared by the bankrupt himself? Confirmed adherents of the present order (undoubtedly such do exist) must be horrified by the fact that the population is gradually becoming inured to this potent medicine, and is ceasing to react to fresh injections of it.

The bankruptcy of the government's *economic* policy is also coming to light, this time against its will. The autocracy's rapacious methods of running the economy have rested on the monstrous exploitation of the peasantry. These methods have taken for granted, as an inevitable consequence, recurrent famines among the peasants in one locality or another. At such times the predatory state has attempted

to parade before the population in the noble role of considerate provider for the very people it has robbed. Beginning with 1891, famines have taken an enormous toll of victims, and from 1897 they have followed one another almost without interruption. In 1892 Tolstoi bitterly derided the fact that "the parasite is preparing to feed the plant upon whose juices it thrives".[29] It was, indeed, an absurd idea. Times have changed, and with famine having turned into a normal state of affairs in the countryside, our parasite is not so much taken up with the Utopian idea of feeding the plundered peasantry, as with declaring that very same idea an offence against the state. The aim has been achieved—the huge famine of today is taking place in an atmosphere of dead silence that is unusual even in our country. The groans of the starving peasants are not heard; there is no attempt on the part of the public to take the initiative in combating the famine; the newspapers say nothing about the situation in the villages. An enviable silence, but do not Messrs. the Sipyagins feel that this quiet is highly reminiscent of the calm before a storm?

The state system, which for ages has rested on the passive support of millions of peasants, has reduced the latter to a state in which year in year out they are unable to provide food for themselves. This *social* bankruptcy of the monarchy of Messrs. the Obmanovs is no less instructive than its *political* bankruptcy.

When will the affairs of our fraudulent bankrupt be wound up? Will he manage to carry on much longer, living from day to day, and patching up the holes in his political and financial budget with skin taken from the living body of the national organism? The greater or lesser period of grace that history will allow our bankrupt will depend on many factors; but one of the most important will be the degree of revolutionary activity displayed by those who have become aware of the existing regime's complete bankruptcy. Its decay is in an advanced stage, and is far ahead of the *political mobilisation* of the social elements destined to be its grave-diggers. This political mobilisation will be carried out most effectively by revolutionary Social-Democracy, which alone will be capable of dealing a mortal blow at the autocracy. The new clash between the

students and the government enables and obliges us all to accelerate this mobilisation of all social forces hostile to the autocracy. Months of hostilities in political life are accounted by history as the equivalent of years. The times we live in are indeed times of hostilities.

Iskra, No. 17, February 15, 1902

Published according to the *Iskra* text

FROM THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF RUSSIA

Under this general heading we intend to publish from time to time, as the material accumulates, articles and commentaries in which all aspects of Russia's economic life and economic development will be described from the Marxist point of view. Now that *Iskra*[30] has begun to appear fortnightly, the absence of such a section is most keenly felt. However, we must call the most earnest attention of all comrades and sympathisers of our publications to the fact that to conduct this section (at all properly) we need an abundance of material and in this respect our editors find themselves in an exceptionally unfavourable position. The contributor to the legal press cannot even imagine the most elementary obstacles that sometimes frustrate the intentions and endeavours of the "underground" writer. Do not forget, gentlemen, that we cannot use the Imperial National Library, where tens and hundreds of special publications and local newspapers are at the service of the journalist. Material for an economics section at all befitting a "newspaper", i.e., material that is at all brisk, topical, and interesting to both reader and writer, is scattered in small local newspapers and in special publications which are mostly either too expensive or are not at all on sale (government, Zemstvo,[31] medical publications, etc.). That is why it will be possible to run an economics section tolerably well *only* if *all readers* of the illegal newspaper act in accordance with the proverb: "Many a little makes a mickle." Putting aside all false modesty, the Editorial Board of *Iskra* must admit that in this respect they are very poorly supplied. We are sure that most of our readers are able to read the most various special and local publications, and actually do

read them "for themselves". Only when every such reader asks himself *each time* he comes across some interesting item: "Is this material available to the editors of our paper? What have I done to acquaint them with this material?"—only then shall we succeed in having all the outstanding developments in Russia's economic life appraised, not only from the standpoint of the official, *Novoye Vremya*,[32] Witte panegyrics, not only for the sake of the traditional liberal-Narodnik plaints, but also from the standpoint of revolutionary Social-Democracy.

And now, after this non-liberal plaint, let us get down to the subject.

1. THE SAVINGS-BANKS

Of late the savings-banks have become one of the most favoured subjects of panegyrics, not only from Witte, but from the "critics" as well. The Davids and Hertzes, the Chernovs and Bulgakovs, the Prokopoviches and Totomiantses, in a word, all adherents of the fashionable "criticism of Marxism" (to say nothing of respectable professors, like the Kablukovs and Karyshevs) chant in various tones and voices: "Those orthodox devotees talk about the concentration of capital!—Why, the savings-banks alone show us the decentralisation of capital. They talk of mounting poverty! In actual fact, we see an increase in small savings among the people."

Let us take the official statistics on the Russian savings-banks for 1899,[33] which someone was kind enough to send us, and examine them more closely. In 1899 there was a total of 4,781 state savings-banks in Russia, of which 3,718 were located at post- and telegraph-offices and 84 at factories. In five years (from 1895 to 1899) the number of savings-banks increased by 1,189, i.e., by one-third. During the same period the number of depositors increased from 1,664,000 to 3,145,000, i.e., by almost one and a half million (by 89 per cent), and the total deposits increased from 330,000,000 rubles to 608,000,000 rubles, i.e., by 278,000,000 rubles, or by 84 per cent. And so there has apparently been an enormous increase in "the people's savings"?

But what strikes the eye in this connection is the following circumstance. From literature about the savings-banks it is known that in the eighties and early nineties the total deposits increased *most rapidly in the famine years*, 1891 and 1892. That is on the one hand. On the other, we know that during this period in general, during the eighties and nineties taken together, the increase in "the people's savings" was accompanied by an astonishingly rapid and drastic process of impoverishment, ruin, and starvation among the peasantry. To understand how these conflicting phenomena could go together one need only recall that the *growth of money economy* was the principal feature in Russia's economic life during the period mentioned. The increase in savings-bank deposits is by itself not at all indicative of a growth in "the people's" savings in general, but only of a growth in *monetary* "savings" (and sometimes even only of their concentration in central institutions). Among the peasantry, for example, it is quite possible that, with the transition from natural economy to money economy, there should be an *increase* in monetary savings *with a decrease* in the sum-total of "the people's" savings. The peasant of the old type kept his savings in a stocking when these savings were in cash, but most often these savings were made up of grain, fodder, coarse linen, firewood, and like articles "in kind". The peasant who has been or is being ruined now has savings neither in kind nor in cash, while a negligible minority of peasants who are growing rich are accumulating monetary savings which are beginning to find their way into state savings-banks. Hence, the increase in deposits parallel with the spread of famine is quite understandable; what it denotes is not an advancement in the people's welfare, but the elimination of the old-type, independent, peasant by the new rural bourgeoisie, i.e., the wealthy peasants, who are unable to run their farms without permanent farm labourers and day labourers.

The statistics classifying depositors according to occupation provide interesting oblique confirmation of what has been said above. These data cover nearly three million (2,942,000) accounts, with deposits totalling 545,000,000 rubles. The average deposit is shown to be 185 rubles—a

sum, as you see, that clearly points to the predominance, among depositors, of "fortunates" who constitute a negligible minority of the Russian people and who have inherited or acquired property. The biggest depositors are the *clergy*: 46,000,000 rubles spread over 137,000 accounts, i.e., an average of 333 rubles per account. It seems that being responsible for saving the souls of their flock is not an unprofitable business.... Next in line are the *landowners*: 9,000,000 rubles on 36,000 accounts, i.e., average of 268 rubles; further—*merchants*: 59,000,000 rubles on 268,000 accounts, i.e., an average of 222 rubles; then come officers—with an average of 219 rubles per account, civil servants—averaging 202 rubles. "Agricultural and other rural occupations" hold only sixth place: 640,000 accounts totalling 126,000,000 rubles, i.e., the average account is 197 rubles; then come "employees in private businesses"—with an average of 196 rubles; "miscellaneous occupations"—186 rubles; urban trades—159 rubles; "domestic servants"—143 rubles; *factory workers*—136 rubles, and last come "private soldiers"—86 rubles.

Thus, factory workers practically come *last* among depositors (exclusive of private soldiers, who are maintained by the state)! Even domestic servants have higher average savings (143 rubles per account, as against 136 rubles) and possess a much larger number of accounts. To be precise: domestic servants have 333,000 accounts with deposits totalling 48,000,000 rubles, while factory workers have 157,000 accounts with deposits totalling 21,000,000 rubles. The proletariat, which creates all the wealth of our aristocracy and our magnates, is in a worse condition than servants of the latter! Of the total number of Russian factory workers (not less than two million people) only approximately *one-sixth* are able to make even the most modest deposits in the savings-banks[34]—and this despite the fact that workers' entire income comes exclusively in money, and they often have to support families living in the villages, so that for the most part their deposits are not "savings" at all in the real sense of the word, but simply sums *put aside* for the next remittance to their families, etc. Moreover, we say nothing of the fact that the group listed under the heading "factory workers" probably

includes office clerks, foremen, superintendents, in a word, persons who are not actually factory workers.

As to the peasants—if one considers that they are mostly entered under the heading of "agricultural and other rural occupations",—well, their average savings account is, as we have seen, higher than even that of employees in private businesses, and considerably exceeds the average savings of those coming under the heading of "urban trades" (i.e., presumably, shopkeepers, artisans, janitors, etc.). Obviously, these 640,000 peasants (out of approximately 10,000,000 households, or families) with 126,000,000 rubles in savings-banks belong exclusively to the *peasant bourgeoisie*. It is only to these peasants, and perhaps to those most closely associated with them, that the data on progress in agriculture, the spread of machinery, improvements in land cultivation, and higher living standards, etc., apply—data brought forward against the socialists by Messrs. the Wittes so as to show an "advancement in the people's welfare", and by Messrs. the Liberals (and the "Critics") so as to refute the "Marxist dogma" about the decline and ruin of small-scale farming. These gentlemen do not notice (or pretend not to notice) that the decline of small-scale production is expressed precisely in the fact that a negligible number of people who grow rich through the ruin of the masses come from the ranks of the small producers.

Of still greater interest are data classifying the total number of depositors according to the size of their deposits. In round figures, this classification is as follows: of three million depositors, one million possess accounts *not exceeding* 25 *rubles*. Their deposits total 7,000,000 rubles (out of 545,000,000 rubles, i.e., only 12 kopeks of every 10 rubles of the aggregate deposits!). The average account is *7 rubles*. That is to say, the really small depositors, who constitute *one-third* of the total number, possess only $^1/_{83}$ of the aggregate sum. Further, depositors with accounts of between 25 and 100 rubles constitute one-fifth of the total number (600,000) and own a total of 36,000,000 rubles, the average account being *55* rubles. If we combine these two groups, we see that *over* 50 *per cent* of all depositors (1,600,000 out of 3,000,000) own only 42,000,000 rubles, or $^1/_{12}$, of the grand total of 545,000,000 rubles. Of the remaining

well-to-do depositors one million have accounts ranging from 100 to 500 rubles, with deposits totalling 209,000,000 rubles, the average account being 223 rubles. Four hundred thousand depositors have accounts exceeding 500 rubles each, with deposits totalling 293,000,000 rubles, an average of 762 rubles. Consequently, these evidently well-to-do people, who form *less* than 1/7 of the total number of depositors, possess *more than half* (54 per cent) of the total capital.

Hence, the *concentration of capital* in present-day society, the dispossession of the masses, makes itself felt with great force even in an institution especially intended for the "younger brother", the poorer section of the population, since deposits are limited by law to 1,000 rubles. And let us note that this concentration of property, which is typical of any capitalist society, is still higher in the advanced countries, despite the greater "democratisation" of their savings-banks. In France, for instance, as of December 31, 1899, there were 10,500,000 savings-bank accounts with deposits totalling 4,337,000,000 francs (a franc is slightly less than 40 kopeks). That makes an average of 412 francs per account, or about 160 rubles, i.e., *less* than the average deposit in Russian savings-banks. The number of small depositors in France is also comparatively larger than in Russia: approximately one-third of depositors (3 1/3 million) have accounts ranging up to 20 francs (8 rubles), the average deposit being 13 francs (5 rubles). Altogether these depositors possess only 35,000,000 francs out of a total of 4,337,000,000, i.e., 1/125. Depositors with accounts of up to 100 francs constitute a little over 50 per cent of the total number (5,300,000), but possess a total of only 143,000,000 francs, i.e., 1/33 of the aggregate deposits. On the other hand, depositors with accounts of 1,000 francs and over (400 rubles and over), while constituting *less than one-fifth* (18.5 per cent) of the total number of depositors, have concentrated in their hands *over two-thirds* (68.7 per cent) of all deposits, viz., 2,979,000,000 francs out of a total of 4,337,000,000 francs.

Thus, the reader now has before him a certain amount of information for an appraisal of our "critics'" arguments. One and the same fact—the enormous increase

in savings-bank deposits, and in particular the increase in the number of small depositors—is interpreted in different ways. The "critics of Marxism" say: the people's welfare is growing and decentralisation of capital is increasing. The socialists say: what is taking place is the conversion of savings "in kind" into monetary savings, and the number of well-to-do peasants, who are turning bourgeois and converting their savings into capital, is increasing. An incomparably more rapid growth is to be seen in the number of peasants being driven into the ranks of the proletariat, which lives by the sale of its labour-power and puts (at least temporarily) part of its meagre income into the savings-banks. The large number of small depositors merely goes to show how numerous are the poor in capitalist society, since the share of these small depositors in the aggregate deposits is negligible.

The question arises: in what way do the "critics" differ from the most ordinary bourgeois?

Let us go further, and see how the capital of the savings-banks is used and for what purposes. In Russia this capital serves primarily to strengthen the might of the militarist and bourgeois-police state. The tsarist government (as we have already pointed out in a leading article in No. 15 of *Iskra**) disposes of this capital just as arbitrarily as it does of all other public property it lays hands on. It quite calmly "borrows" hundreds of millions of this capital for financing its Chinese expeditions, for hand-outs to capitalists and landowners, for re-equipping the army, enlarging the navy, etc. Thus, in 1899, for example, 613,000,000 rubles out of aggregate savings-bank deposits of 679,000,000 rubles were invested in securities, viz., 230,000,000 rubles in *state loans*, 215,000,000 rubles in mortgages held by the Land Banks, and 168,000,000 rubles in railway loans.

The Treasury is doing some very profitable "business": first, it covers all expenses incurred by the savings-banks and gets a net profit (hitherto credited to the reserve fund of the savings-banks); secondly, it *compels* the depositors to cover the deficits in our state economy (compels them to

* See present edition, Vol. 5, "The Budget".—*Ed.*

loan money to the Treasury). From 1894 to 1899, deposits in savings-banks totalled an average of 250,000,000 rubles per annum, while withdrawals amounted to 200,000,000 rubles. Consequently, that leaves *fifty million* rubles annually that can be used for loans to patch up holes in the Treasury's money-bags, into which thieving fingers are dipped by all but the laziest. Why fear deficits due to squandering money on wars and on hand-outs to hangers-on at Court, to landlords and manufacturers when it is always possible to obtain sizable sums from the "people's savings"!

We shall add parenthetically that one of the reasons the Treasury is conducting such profitable business is because it is steadily lowering the rate of interest paid on monetary deposits, which is lower than the interest on securities. For example, in 1894 the interest paid on monetary deposits was 4.12 per cent, and on securities—4.34 per cent; in 1899 it was 3.92 per cent and 4.02 per cent, respectively. As is well known, reduction of interest is a feature common to all capitalist countries and it brings out most clearly and graphically the growth of big capital and *large-scale production at the expense of small-scale production*, because in the final analysis the rate of interest is determined by the ratio between aggregate profits and the aggregate capital invested in production. Nor can we ignore the fact that the Treasury is constantly intensifying its exploitation of postal and telegraph employees: at first they had only the mails to look after; then the telegraph was added; now they have been burdened also with the job of receiving and paying out savings deposits (it should be remembered that 3,718 out of the 4,781 savings-banks are at post- and telegraph-offices). A terrific increase in the intensity of labour and a longer working day—that is what this means to the mass of postal and telegraph employees. As to their salaries, the Treasury scrimps on them like the most close-fisted kulak: the lowest grade of employees, those who have just entered service, are paid literally *starvation* rates; then comes an endlessly graded succession of twenty-five-kopek and fifty-kopek rises, and the prospect of a niggardly pension after forty to fifty years of drudgery is intended to increase even more the bondage of this veritable "proletariat of officialdom".

But let us return to the way savings-bank capital is used. We have seen that (by order of the Russian Government) the banks invest 215,000,000 rubles in mortgages held by the Land Banks and 168,000,000 rubles in railway loans. This fact has provided food for still another and of late extremely widespread display of bourgeois ... I meant to say "critical" wisdom. In essence, the Bernsteins, the Hertzes, the Chernovs, the Bulgakovs, and their like tell us, this fact means that the small depositors in the savings-banks are becoming *railway owners* and land *mortgage holders*. It is a fact, they argue, that even such purely capitalist and colossal enterprises as the railways and banks are becoming more and more decentralised, are being divided up, and are passing into the hands of petty proprietors, who acquire them by purchasing shares, bonds, mortgages, etc.; it is a fact that the wealthy, the owners of property are growing in number—yet those narrow-minded Marxists are fussing about with the antiquated theory of concentration and the theory of impoverishment. If, for instance, the Russian factory workers have 157,000 accounts at savings-banks with aggregate deposits amounting to 21,000,000 rubles, about 5,000,000 rubles of this sum is invested in railway loans, and about 8,000,000 rubles in Land Bank mortgages. That means that Russian factory workers own 5,000,000 rubles' worth of railways and are landowners worth 8,000,000 rubles. Now go and talk of a proletariat! Hence, the workers are exploiting the landowners, since, in the form of interest on mortgages, they receive a modicum of rent, i.e., a small portion of the surplus-value.

Yes, this precisely is the line of reasoning adopted by the latest critics of Marxism.... And—here is something that will surprise you—I am prepared to agree with the widespread opinion that we should welcome this "criticism", since it has brought a stir into a theory which was alleged to be stagnant; I am prepared to agree to that on the following condition. There was a time when the French socialists whetted their skill as propagandists and agitators by analysing the sophisms of Bastiat, while the German socialists followed suit by unravelling the sophisms of Schulze-Delitzsch[35]; as for us, Russians, it has *thus far* fallen to

our lot to deal only with the company of "critics". And so, I am prepared to shout, "Long live criticism!"—*on condition* that, in our propaganda and *agitation among the masses,* we, socialists, engage *as widely as possible* in an analysis of all the bourgeois sophisms of fashionable "criticism". If you agree to this condition we can call it a bargain! Incidentally, our bourgeoisie are more and more maintaining a discreet silence; for they prefer the protection of the tsarist archangels* to that of the bourgeois theoreticians, and it will be very convenient for us to accept the "critics" as the "devil's advocates".

Through the savings-banks ever larger numbers of workers and small producers are taking a share in big enterprises. This is undoubtedly a fact. What this fact shows, however, is not an increase in the number of property-owners, but 1) the growing socialisation of labour in capitalist society, and 2) the growing subordination of small-scale production to large-scale production. Take the small Russian depositor. Over 50 per cent of such depositors, as we have seen, have accounts of up to 100 rubles, to wit 1,618,000 depositors with savings totalling 42,000,000 rubles, i.e., an average of 26 rubles per depositor. Thus, this depositor "owns" about 6 rubles' worth of railways and about 9 rubles' worth of "landed property". Does this make him wealthy or a "proprietor"? No, he remains a proletarian, who is forced to sell his labour-power, i.e., to become a slave of those who own the means of production. As for his "share" in "railway and banking" business, it merely shows that capitalism is increasingly linking together individual members of society and individual classes. The interdependence of individual producers was infinitesimal in patriarchal economy; it is now constantly increasing. Labour is becoming more and more social, and enterprises less and less "private", although they still remain *almost entirely* in private hands.

His participation in a big enterprise undoubtedly *weaves* the small depositor *into the pattern* of that enterprise. Who benefits from this link? Big capital does, which extends its transactions by paying the small depositor no

* An appellation given in tsarist Russia to members of the secret police.—*Ed.*

more (and often less) than it pays any other lender, and by being *the more independent* of the small depositors, the *smaller* and the more scattered the latter are. We have seen that the share of the small depositors is extremely small even in the savings-bank capital. How insignificant, then, must it be in the capital of the railway and banking magnates. By giving his mite to these magnates, the small depositor enters into a *new dependence* on big capital. He cannot even think of having any say in the use of this big capital; his "profit" is ridiculously small (26 rubles at 4 per cent= 1 ruble a year!). Yet in the event of a failure he loses even his miserable mite. What the abundance of these small depositors signifies is not the decentralisation of big capital but the *strengthening of the power* of big capital, which is able to dispose of even the smallest mites in the "people's" savings. His share in big enterprises does not make the small depositor more independent; on the contrary, he becomes *more dependent* on the big proprietor.

What follows from the increase in the number of small depositors is not the reassuring philistine deduction about an increase in the number of wealthy people, but the revolutionary conclusion of the growing dependence of the small depositors on the big, of the mounting contradiction between the increasingly socialised nature of the enterprises and the preservation of private ownership of the means of production. The more the savings-banks develop, the more interested do the small depositors become in the socialist victory of the proletariat, which alone will make them real, and not fictitious, "sharers" in and administrators of social wealth.

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REPORT OF THE *ISKRA* EDITORIAL BOARD TO THE MEETING (CONFERENCE) OF R.S.D.L.P. COMMITTEES[36]

March 5, 1902.

Comrades! Only the day before yesterday we received notice of the meeting to be called for March 21, together with the entirely unexpected information that the original plan to hold a conference had been superseded by a plan to convene a Party congress. We do not know who is responsible for this sudden and unmotivated change. On our part, we consider it most unfortunate. We protest against such rapid changes in decisions on highly complex and important Party measures, and strongly recommend a return to the original plan for a conference.

To be convinced of the necessity for this, it is enough, in our opinion, to give more careful consideration to the agenda (*Tagesordnung*) of the congress, which was likewise communicated to us only the day before yesterday; moreover, we do not know whether this is only a draft *Tagesordnung*, and whether this agenda has been proposed by one or by several organisations. The agenda provides for nine questions to be discussed by the congress in the following order (I am giving a brief summary of the points): A) the economic struggle; B) the political struggle; C) political agitation; D) May Day; E) the attitude towards opposition elements; F) the attitude towards revolutionary groups unaffiliated to the Party; G) organisation of the Party; H) the Central Organ, and I) representatives and Party organisations abroad.

First, in its architecture and in the wording of the individual questions this agenda produces an irresistible

impression of "economism".[37] We do not of course think that the organisation proposing this agenda would entertain "economist" views to this day (although *to some extent* this is not altogether impossible), but we ask the comrades to remember that it is also necessary to take into account both the opinion held by international revolutionary Social-Democracy, and those survivals of "economism" which are still widespread in our country. Just imagine: the advanced party of political struggle calls a congress at a time when all revolutionary and opposition forces in the country, which have begun a direct attack on the autocracy, are straining every effort—and all of a sudden we lay chief stress on the "economic struggle", with "politics" *following* only in the wake!! Is this not a copy of the traditional error of our "economists", who claim that political agitation (*resp.* struggle) should come after the economic? Is it possible to imagine that it would occur to any European Social-Democratic Party, during a revolutionary period, to place the question of the trade-union movement before all other questions? Or take this separation of the question of political agitation from the question of the political struggle! Does it not smack of the usual fallacy which contraposes the political struggle to political agitation as something fundamentally different, something belonging to a different stage? Or, lastly, how is one to explain the fact that demonstrations figure in the agenda *primarily* as *a means of the economic struggle!??* After all, we must not forget that at the present time *a number* of elements hostile to Social-Democracy are levelling against all Social-Democracy the accusation of "economism": these accusations are being made by *Nakanune*,[38] by *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*, by *Svoboda*,*[39] and even (even!) by *Russkoye Bogatstvo*. We must not forget that whatever resolutions the conference may adopt, the agenda itself will remain a historical document by which the level of our entire Party's political development will be judged.

Secondly, it is astonishing that the agenda raises (a few days before the congress 1) questions that should be

* See pp. 283-84 of this volume.—*Ed.*

discussed only after thorough preparations, only when it is possible to adopt really definite and comprehensible decisions on them—otherwise it is better not to discuss them at all for the time being. For example, points E and F: the attitude towards opposition and other revolutionary trends. These questions must be discussed in advance, from all angles, reports drawn up on them, and differences in existing shades made clear—only then can we adopt decisions that would actually offer something new, that would serve as a real *guide* for the whole Party, and not merely repeat some traditional "generalisation". In point of fact, just consider: can we in a few days prepare a comprehensive and well-grounded decision that would take into consideration all the practical requirements of the movement on the questions of the attitude towards the "revolutionary-socialist *Svoboda* group" or towards the new-born "Socialist-Revolutionary Party"? This apart from the strange impression, to say the least, that will be produced on everyone by the fact that revolutionary groups unaffiliated to the Party are mentioned, while nothing is said on so important a question as the attitude towards the Bund,[40] or a revision of the clauses dealing with the latter, in the resolutions of the First Congress of the Party.

Thirdly—and most important—there is an unpardonable omission in the agenda: not a word is said of the *stand* taken by present-day Russian revolutionary Social-Democracy *on matters of principle*, or of its *Party programme*. At a time when the whole world is clamouring about the "crisis of Marxism", and all Russian liberal publicists are clamouring even about its collapse *and disappearance*, when the question of the "two trends in Russian Social-Democracy" has not only been placed on the order of the day, but has even found its way into various lecture programmes, into the programmes for propagandists' talks and self-education groups—at a time like this it is quite impossible to pass over these questions in silence. We, comrades, are being ridiculed by our opponents, who already say even *in print* (see Nadezhdin, "The Eve of the Revolution") that we have grown accustomed to "reporting that all's well"!...

In our opinion, all the above-mentioned shortcomings in the agenda prove convincingly how irrational is the

plan to convert into a congress a conference that has already been summoned. We understand, of course, how keenly everyone feels the fact that there has been no Party congress since 1898, how tempting the idea is of using the efforts spent in organising the conference so as to put an end to this existence of a "party without party institutions". But it would be a very great mistake to let these practical considerations make us forget that from a congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party everyone now expects decisions which would be on a level with *all* the revolutionary tasks of the present time; that if we fail to rise to the occasion *now*, at this truly critical moment, we may bury all Social-Democracy's hopes to gain the hegemony in the political struggle; that it is better not to begrudge an expense of a few thousand rubles and several months of preparatory organisational work, and to use the present conference so as to prepare for the summer a congress that will really be a *general Party* congress capable of finally settling all immediate problems both in the sphere of theory (the theoretical programme) and in the sphere of the political struggle.

Look at the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who are more and more skilfully taking advantage of our shortcomings and gaining ground to the detriment of Social-Democracy. They have only just formed a "party", founded a *theoretical* organ, and decided to launch a political *monthly* newspaper. What will be said of the Social-Democrats if *after* this event they fail to achieve at their congress results *at least such as these*? Are we not running the risk of creating the impression that when it comes to a clear-cut programme and revolutionary organisation the Social-Democrats are not ahead of this "party", which is known to be gathering around itself all sorts of indeterminate, undetermined, and even undeterminable elements?

In view of all this we believe that the present congress of committee representatives should not be declared the Second regular Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, but an *unofficial conference*. This conference's *main and immediate task* should be to organise and prepare for next summer a real *general Party congress* capable of endorsing the Party programme, making final

arrangements for publication of a political weekly organ of the Party, and in general bringing about the complete and actual unification of all committees and even of all groups (in print-shops,[41] etc.) of Social-Democrats on the basis of steadfastness of principle, loyalty to the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy, and genuinely militant preparedness for *offensive* political action.

Proceeding from this basic idea, we take the liberty of submitting to the comrades for their consideration the following *Tagesordnung* for our conference:

1. *Statement of principles*. In the resolution on this question an emphatic stand should be taken against those deplorable attempts to restrict our theory and our tasks, which were but recently quite widespread. By vigorously rejecting any such restrictions the Party conference will make an important contribution to the unification of all Social-Democrats on matters of principle and will re-establish the shaken prestige of revolutionary Marxism. Some comrades may perhaps express fear that discussion on the statement of principles will take up a great deal of time and divert attention from practical questions. We do not in the least share these apprehensions, for we believe that the extensive debates in the illegal press have cleared up the question so well that we shall reach an agreement on the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy with great speed and ease. On the other hand, it is utterly impossible to do without a statement of principles.

Moreover, the removal of this question from the conference's *Tagesordnung* would in any case fail in its purpose since the very same question would inevitably come up, only in more disjointed form, in the discussion of the resolutions on the economic struggle, the political struggle, etc. For this reason it would be far more expedient to first finish with this matter, refrain from splitting up our resolutions on political agitation, strikes, and so on, and give one connected exposition of the view on our main tasks.

On our part, we will endeavour to prepare a draft of this resolution and append it to this report (if time permits).

2. *The Second regular Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party*. Here we have in view the preliminary (and, of course, to a certain extent tentative)

decision on the question of the date of the congress (summer, or not later than autumn, since it is desirable to end it before the next "season"), the place (in connection with which the conditions of secrecy must be carefully considered), the funds required for its arrangement (*Iskra*, on its part, would be prepared to immediately contribute 500 rubles for this purpose, from a certain special donation it has received; we would possibly be able soon to find another such sum or even more. We should discuss how many thousand rubles it will approximately cost, and practical ways of raising the rest); lastly, the general principles of representation and the fullest possible representation (i.e., so as to ensure representation of definite pre-selected committees and certain groups, and possibly also of study circles of Russian Social-Democrats, to say nothing of the comparatively easy task of securing representatives from the two Social-Democratic organisations abroad; a procedure should also be adopted for discussing the question of inviting to the congress such organisations that may be founded in the interim between conference and congress, etc., etc.).

3. *Election of an Organising Committee.* Generally speaking, the task of this O.C. should be to implement conference decisions, make preparations for and arrange the congress, set a final date and place for the latter, attend to its practical organisation, arrange such matters as the transport of literature, and establish Party print-shops in Russia (with the aid of *Iskra*, two local print-shop groups sympathising with our publications have been formed in Russia; they have succeeded in publishing in their two print-shops Nos. 10 and 11 of *Iskra*, the pamphlets. *What Next?*, *The Tenth Anniversary of the Morozov Strike*, *The Speech by Pyotr Alexelyev*, *The Indictment in the Obukhov Case*, and many others, as well as a number of leaflets. We hope that representatives from these local groups will be able to participate in the work of the conference and that they will assist in every way in the accomplishment of the general Party tasks); further, it should give assistance to various local organisations, labour unions, students' organisations, and so on and so forth. With the support of all organisations, this O. C. could, in the space of three or four months, fully prepare the ground for the

formation of a real Central Committee, capable *de facto* of directing the entire political struggle of our Party.

In view of the complexity and variety of the O.C.'s tasks, it should, in our opinion, consist of a fairly large number of members (5-7), who should be directed to elect a bureau, distribute functions among themselves, and hold several meetings prior to the congress.

4. *Election of a committee for preparing a draft Party programme*. As the editors of *Iskra* (including the Emancipation of Labour group[42]) have already been working on this difficult job for a long time, we venture to propose the following plan to the comrades. We have already completed the entire draft of the practical section of the programme, including the draft agrarian programme, and, besides, *two* variants for the theoretical part of the programme have been prepared. Our representative will acquaint the conference with these drafts, should this be found necessary and if nothing comes up to prevent him from doing so. From these two variants, we are at present drawing up a single general draft, but of course we should not like to make it public in its rough form, i.e., before the work is completed. Should the conference elect several persons to collaborate with our Editorial Board in the preparation of the programme, that might perhaps be the most practical solution of the question.

For our part, we can in any case give the comrades an immediate formal undertaking to submit within a few weeks the final draft of the Party programme, which we intended to publish in advance in *Iskra*, so as to enable *all* comrades to get acquainted with it, and to obtain their comments.

5. *The Central Organ*. In view of the tremendous difficulties involved in launching a periodical which would appear regularly and be adequately provided with literary and technical facilities, the conference will most likely follow the example of the First Congress of the Party and choose an existing publication. Whether the question is settled in this way, or whether it is decided to launch an entirely new periodical, it will in any case be necessary to instruct a special committee, or better still the same Organising Committee, to undertake the preparatory work

and to discuss the matter from all angles together with the existing or newly-elected editorial board.

It would be essential, in our opinion, to draw the Emancipation of Labour group into this discussion, for without its co-operation and guidance we cannot imagine the proper organisation of a political organ that would be consistent in principle and would in general meet all the requirements of the movement.

Inasmuch as attempts to establish a fortnightly periodical have already been made before the conference, the Party should make it its immediate task to establish *a weekly newspaper*: this would be fully possible given really *joint* work on such a paper by *all* Russian Social-Democrats.

6. *Preparation of the agenda for the Party congress and reports on that agenda*. The conference should draw up part of this agenda itself, and entrust part of it to the Organising Committee; it should *without fail* appoint (*resp*. find) reporters on each question. Only by appointing reporters in advance is it possible to ensure a truly comprehensive discussion of the various questions and correct decisions on them at the congress (some of the reports could be printed beforehand in full or in part, and discussed in the press; for instance, we hope to publish soon an almost completed treatise on the agrarian programme of Russian Social-Democracy, etc., written by a member of the Editorial Board,* etc.).

7. *Current practical questions of the movement*—for example, a) discussion and endorsement of a May Day leaflet (*resp*. discussion of drafts submitted by *Iskra* and other organisations).

b) The May Day demonstration—the time and methods of its organisation.

c) Instructions to the Organising Committee to assist in organising boycotts, demonstrations, etc., and at the same time gradually to prepare the minds of Party members, and likewise the forces and means of the Party, for a general uprising of the people.

d) Various financial questions relating to the maintenance of the Organising Committee, *etc*.

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* See pp. 105-48 of this volume.—*Ed*.

Concluding our report on the tasks and *Tagesordnung* of our congress, we shall only remark that it is absolutely impossible for us to draw up a detailed report on the work of *Iskra* because we are extremely pressed for time. We are therefore compelled to limit ourselves to the following brief outline.

(N.B.) ROUGH OUTLINE OF RESOLUTION

1. The conference categorically rejects each and every attempt to inject opportunism into the revolutionary class movement of the proletariat—attempts which have found expression in the so-called "criticism of Marxism", Bernsteinism,[43] and "economism". At a time when the bourgeoisie of all countries is rejoicing over the so widely publicised "crisis in socialism", the conference declares, in the name of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, its solidarity with the revolutionary international Social-Democratic movement, and expresses its firm conviction that Social-Democracy will emerge from this crisis stronger than ever and prepared for a relentless struggle for the achievement of its great ideals.

2. The conference declares its solidarity with the Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party[44] and confirms that it considers the overthrow of the autocracy the immediate political task of the Party. The conference declares that in its work for the accomplishment of this immediate task as well as of its ultimate aim Social-Democracy lays chief stress on all-round and nation-wide political agitation which calls on the proletariat to fight against all manifestations of economic, political, national, and social oppression, whatever section of the population this oppression is directed against. The conference declares that the Party will support every revolutionary and progressive opposition movement directed against the existing political and social system. The conference particularly recommends, as practical methods of struggle, the organisation of boycotts, manifestations at theatres, etc., as well as organised mass demonstrations. The conference advises all Party committees and groups to devote

due attention to the need for preparatory measures for a nation-wide armed uprising against the tsarist autocracy.

3. The conference declares that Russian Social-Democracy will continue as heretofore to guide the economic struggle of the proletariat, will strive to extend and deepen it, to strengthen its ideological and organisational bonds with the Social-Democratic labour movement, and will endeavour to take advantage of every manifestation of this struggle so as to develop the political consciousness of the proletariat and draw the latter into the political struggle. The conference declares that there is no need whatever to conduct agitation from the very outset on an economic basis alone, or to consider economic agitation in general to be the most widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the political struggle.

[N. B.: It is very important here too to *expose Rabocheye Dyelo*[45] once again!!]

4. (About the peasantry—should this be done perhaps in the spirit of our agrarian programme?

I shall try to prepare and forward it at once.)

First published in 1923, in Vol. V of the *Collected Works* of N. Lenin (V. Ulyanov)

Published according to the manuscript

THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY[46]

Written in February-first half of March 1902

First published in August 1902 in the magazine *Zarya*, No. 4. Signed: *N. L e n i n*

Published according to the manuscript

I

There is hardly any need to prove at length that an "agrarian programme" is essential to the Russian Social-Democratic Party. By an agrarian programme we mean a definition of the guiding principles of Social-Democratic policy on the agrarian question, i.e., policy in relation to agriculture and the various classes, sections, and groups of the rural population. Naturally, in a "peasant" country like Russia the agrarian programme of the socialists is chiefly, if not exclusively, a "peasant programme", a programme defining their attitude towards the peasant question. Big landowners, agricultural wage-workers, and "peasants"—these are the three main components of the rural population in any capitalist country, Russia included. In the same measure as the attitude of the Social-Democrats to the first two of these three components (the landowners and the labourers) is definite and self-evident, even the very concept of the "peasantry" is indefinite, and all the more indefinite is our policy with regard to the fundamental problems of its life and evolution. If in the West the crux of the Social-Democrats' agrarian programme is precisely the "peasant question", how much more so must that be the case in Russia. It is all the more necessary for us, Russian Social-Democrats, to have the most unambiguous definition of our policy in the peasant question because in Russia our movement is still quite new and because the whole of old Russian socialism was, in the final analysis, a "peasant" socialism. True, the mass of Russian "radicals", who imagine themselves the custodian of the heritage left by our Narodnik socialists of all shades, have practically nothing socialistic left in them. But all of them are all the more eager to bring into the forefront their differences with

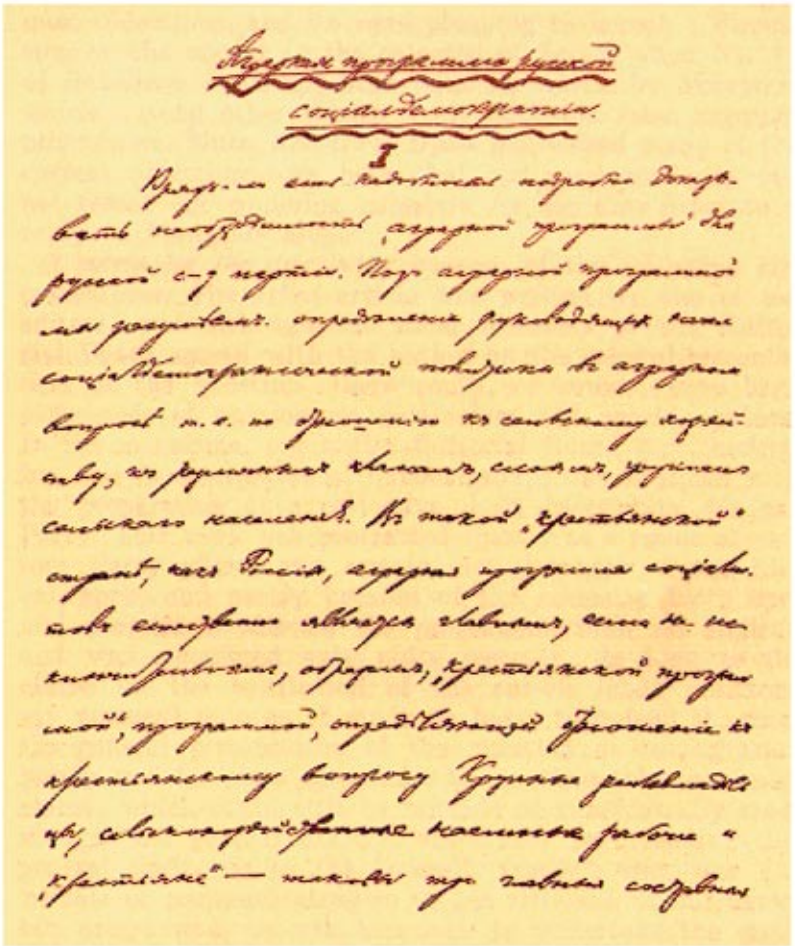
us on the "peasant" question, the more it pleases them to tone down the fact that the "labour" question has come into the foreground of the social and political life of Russia, and the fact that they have no stable principles whatever in this question, while in essence nine-tenths of them are the most ordinary bourgeois social-reformers in this matter. Lastly, the numerous "critics of Marxism", who in the latter respect have almost entirely merged with the Russian radicals (or liberals?), are also endeavouring to lay specific emphasis on the peasant question, on which "orthodox Marxism" is allegedly most completely put to shame by the "latest works" of the Bernsteins, Bulgakovs, Davids, Hertzes and even ... the Chernovs!

Further, in addition to the theoretical uncertainties and the war of "progressive" trends, the purely practical requirements of the movement itself have of late lent special urgency to the task of propaganda and agitation in the countryside. However, this work cannot be conducted at all seriously and on a large scale without a programme consistent in principle and politically expedient. Since the very day of their appearance as an independent trend, Russian Social-Democrats have realised the full importance of the "peasant question". Let us recall that the draft programme of the Russian Social-Democrats prepared by the Emancipation of Labour group and published in 1885 contains a demand for a "radical revision of agrarian relationships (the terms of redemption and allotment of land to the peasants)".* In the pamphlet entitled *The Tasks of the Socialists in the Fight Against the Famine in Russia* (1892), G. V. Plekhanov also spoke of the Social-Democratic policy on the peasant question.

It is therefore quite natural that in one of its first issues (April 1901, No. 3) *Iskra* also published a rough outline of an agrarian programme, defining its attitude towards the principles of the Russian Social-Democrats' agrarian policy, in an article entitled "The Workers' Party and the Peasantry".** A great many Russian Social-Democrats were perplexed by this article, in connection with which we,

* See appendix to P. B. Axelrod's pamphlet, *Present Tasks and Tactics of the Russian Social-Democrats*, Geneva, 1898.

** See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 420-28.—*Ed.*



First page of Lenin's manuscript, "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy", 1902

Reduced

the editors, have received a number of comments and letters. The clause on the restitution of the cut-off lands evoked most objections, and we were planning to launch a discussion on the matter in the columns of *Zarya*, when No. 10 of *Rabocheye Dyelo* appeared with an article by Martynov which, among other things, dealt with the *Iskra* agrarian programme. Since *Rabocheye Dyelo* has voiced many of the current objections, we hope that our correspondents will not resent our confining ourselves *for the time being* to a reply to Martynov alone.

I stress *for the time being* because of the following circumstances. The *Iskra* article was written by one of the editors, and although the other members of the Editorial Board agreed with the author on the general presentation of the question, there could, of course, have been differences of opinion on particulars and specific points. In the meantime, our entire Editorial Board (i.e., including the Emancipation of Labour group) was occupied with the preparation of a collective draft programme for our Party. This work was protracted (partly as a result of various Party affairs and certain circumstances of our illegal work, and partly because of the necessity for a special congress to discuss the programme from all angles), and was completed only quite recently. As long as the clause on the restitution of the cut-off lands remained my personal opinion, I made no haste to defend it, since the general presentation of the question of our agrarian policy was far more important to me than this particular clause, which could still be rejected or substantially modified in our general draft. I shall now be defending this general draft. As to the "friendly reader" who took the trouble of communicating to us his criticism of our agrarian programme, we ask him now to undertake the criticism of our general draft.

II

We shall quote the "agrarian" section of this draft programme in full.

"With a view to eradicating the remnants of the old serf-owning system and for the purpose of facilitating the

free development of the class struggle in the countryside, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party will work for:

"1) abolition of land redemption and quit-rent payments, as well as of all services now imposed on the peasantry as a taxable social-estate;

"2) annulment of collective liability and of all laws restricting the peasant in the free disposal of his land;

"3) restitution to the people of all sums taken from them in the form of land redemption and quit-rent payments; confiscation for this purpose of monasterial property and of the royal demesnes, and imposition of a special land tax on members of the big landed nobility who received land redemption loans, the revenue thus obtained to be credited to a special public fund for the cultural and charitable needs of the village communes;

"4) establishment of peasant committees

"a) for the restitution to the village communes (by expropriation, or, when the land has changed hands, by redemption, etc.) of the land cut off from the peasants when serfdom was abolished and now used by the landlords as a means of keeping the peasants in bondage;

"b) for the eradication of the remnants of the serf-owning system which still exist in the Urals, the Altai, the Western territory, and other regions of the country;

"5) empowerment of courts to reduce exorbitant rents and to declare null and void all contracts entailing bondage."

The reader may perhaps wonder at the fact that the "agrarian programme" contains no demands whatever in favour of the agricultural wage-workers. On this score let us note that such demands have been included in the preceding section of the programme which contains the demands presented by our Party "to safeguard the *working class* from physical and moral degeneration, and also to raise its fighting capacity in the struggle for its emancipation". The words we have underlined apply to *all* wage-workers, including those in agriculture, and *all the 16 clauses of* this section of the programme apply *to the agricultural workers as well*.

True, this combination of industrial and agricultural workers in one section, with the "agrarian" part of the programme limited to "peasant" demands, has the drawback that the demands in favour of the agricultural workers do not strike the eye, are not discernible at first glance. A superficial acquaintance with the programme may even create the entirely wrong impression that we have deliberately toned down the demands in favour of the agricultural wage-workers. Needless to say, this impression would be quite false, for the drawback in question is at bottom of a purely external character. It can be easily obviated by closer acquaintance with the programme itself and the commentaries on it (and it goes without saying that our Party programme will "go to the people" only together with printed commentaries, and, what is far more important, with spoken commentaries as well). Should some group wish to make a special appeal to the agricultural workers, it need only select from all the demands in favour of the workers those particular demands that are most important to farm labourers, hands hired by the day, etc., and set them out in a separate pamphlet, leaflet, or in speeches.

From the standpoint of principle, the *only correct* way to edit the programme sections under analysis is one that will unite all demands in favour of the wage-workers *in all branches* of the national economy and will distinctly place in a special section demands in favour of the "peasants", because the fundamental criterion of what we can and must demand in the former and latter cases is *absolutely different*. In the draft, the fundamental difference between the two sections of the programme under review is expressed in the preamble to each section.

For wage-workers we demand such *reforms* as would "safeguard them from physical and moral degeneration and raise their fighting capacity"; for the peasants, however, we seek only such *changes* as would help "to eradicate the remnants of the old serf-owning system and facilitate the free development of the class struggle in the countryside". Hence it follows that our demands in favour of the peasants are far more restricted, that their terms are much more moderate and presented in a smaller frame-

work. With regard to the wage-workers, we undertake to defend their interests *as a class in present-day society*; we do this because we consider their class movement the only *truly* revolutionary movement (cf. the words in the theoretical part of the programme on the relation of the working class to other classes) and strive to organise this particular movement, to direct it, and bring the light of socialist consciousness into it. As regards the peasantry, however, *we do not by any means undertake* to defend its interests *as a class of small landowners and farmers in present-day society*. Nothing of the kind. The emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself", and for this reason Social-Democracy represents—*directly* and *wholly*—the interests of the proletariat alone, and seeks indissoluble organic unity with its class movement alone. All the other classes of present-day society stand for the preservation of the foundations of the existing economic system, and that is why Social-Democracy can undertake to defend the interests of those classes only under certain circumstances and on concrete and strictly defined conditions. For instance, in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, the class of small producers, including the small farmers, is a *reactionary* class, and therefore "trying to save the peasantry by protecting small-scale farming and small holdings from the onslaught of capitalism would be a useless retarding of social development; it would mean deceiving the peasantry with illusions of the possibility of prosperity even under capitalism; it would mean disuniting the labouring classes and creating a privileged position for the minority at the expense of the majority" (*Iskra*, No. 3).* That is why in our draft programme the inclusion of the "peasant" demands hinges on *two highly circumscribed conditions*. We make the legitimacy of "peasant demands" in a Social-Democratic programme dependent, firstly, on the condition that they lead to the eradication of remnants of the serf-owning system, and, secondly, that they facilitate the free development of the class struggle in the countryside.

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* See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 422-23.—*Ed*.

Let us dwell in greater detail on each of these conditions, which have already been briefly outlined in No. 3 of *Iskra*.

The "remnants of the old serf-owning system" are still extremely numerous in our countryside. This is a generally known fact. Labour-rent and bondage, the peasants' inequality as a social-estate and as citizens, their subjection to the privileged landowners, who still have the right to flog them, and their degrading living conditions, which virtually turn the peasants into barbarians—all this is not an exception, but the rule in the Russian countryside, and in the final analysis this is all a direct survival of the serf-owning system. In those instances and relationships where this system still prevails, and insofar as it still prevails, its enemy is the *peasantry as a whole*. As opposed to serf-ownership, to the feudal-minded landlords, and the state that serves them, the peasantry still stands as a *class*, a class not of capitalist but of serf-owning society, i.e., as an estate-class.* Inasmuch as this class antagonism between the "peasantry" and the privileged landowners, so characteristic of serf-owning society, still survives in our countryside, *insomuch* a working-class party must undoubtedly be on the side of the "peasantry", support its struggle and *urge it on to fight* against all remnants of serf-ownership.

We put the word "peasantry" in quotation marks in order to emphasise the existence in this case of an absolutely indubitable contradiction: in present-day society the peasantry of course no longer constitutes an integral class. But whoever is perplexed by this contradiction forgets that this is not a contradiction in exposition, in a doctrine, but a

* We know that in slave and feudal societies, class divisions were also expressed in the division of the population into *social-estates*, each class with specific *legal* status in the state. That is why classes in a society based on slavery and feudalism (and on serf-ownership) were also separate social-estates. On the other hand, in capitalist, bourgeois society, all citizens are equal in law, division into social-estates has been abolished (at least in principle), and that is why classes have ceased to be social-estates. The division of society into classes is a common feature to slave, feudal, and bourgeois societies, but in the two former estate-classes existed, whereas in the latter the classes are not estates.

contradiction in life itself. This is not an invented, but a living and dialectical contradiction. *Inasmuch as* in our countryside serf-owning society is being eliminated by "present-day" (bourgeois) society, *insomuch* the peasantry ceases to be a class and becomes divided into the rural proletariat and the rural bourgeoisie (big, middle, petty, and very small). *Inasmuch* as serf-owning relationships still exist, *insomuch* the "peasantry" still continues to be a class, i.e., we repeat, a class of serf-owning society rather than of bourgeois society. This "inasmuch—insomuch" exists in real life in the form of an *extremely complex* web of serf-owning and bourgeois relationships in the Russian countryside today. To use Marx's terminology, labour rent, rent in kind, money rent, and capitalist rent are all most fantastically interlinked in our country. We lay special emphasis on this fact, which has been established by all economic investigations in Russia, because it necessarily and inevitably constitutes a source of that complexity, confusion, or, if you will, artificialness, of some of our "agrarian" demands, which at first glance so greatly puzzles many people. Whoever limits his objections to *general* dissatisfaction with the complexity and "artfulness" of the proposed solutions forgets that *there can be no* simple solution of such tangled problems. It is our duty to fight against all remnants of serf-owning relationships—that is beyond doubt to a Social-Democrat—and since these relationships are most intricately interwoven with bourgeois relationships, we are *obliged* to penetrate into the very core, so to say, of this confusion, undeterred by the complexity of the task. There could be only one "simple" solution of this task: to keep aloof, pass it by, and leave it to the "spontaneous element" to clear up this mess. But this "simplicity", favoured by all and sundry bourgeois and "economist" admirers of spontaneity, is unworthy of a Social-Democrat. The party of the proletariat must not only support but must also urge on the peasantry in its struggle against all the remnants of the serf-owning system. To urge the peasantry on, it must not confine itself to wishful thinking; it must lay down a definite revolutionary directive, and be able to *help in finding the bearings* in the maze of agrarian relationships.

III

For the reader to get a clearer idea of the inevitability of a complex solution of the agrarian question, we would ask him to compare in this respect the workers' and the peasants' sections of the programme. In the former, all the solutions are extremely simple and comprehensible even to the most uninitiated and least imaginative person; they are "natural", tangible, and easily achievable. In the latter, on the contrary, most of the solutions are extremely complex, "incomprehensible" at first glance, artificial, improbable, and difficult to bring about. How can this difference be explained? Can it be that, in the first case, the compilers of the programme gave it sober and business-like consideration, whereas in the second case they were lost and confused, lapsing into romanticism and phrase-mongering? Such an explanation, it must in truth be said, would be extremely "simple", childishly simple, and we are not at all surprised at Martynov having grasped at it. It did not enter his mind that economic development itself had facilitated and simplified to the utmost the practical solution of the workers' minor problems. Social and economic relationships in the sphere of large-scale capitalist production have become (and are increasingly becoming) so transparent, clear, and simplified that the next steps forward suggest themselves automatically, immediately, and at first glance. On the other hand, capitalism's elimination of serf-ownership in the countryside has so confused and complicated social and economic relationships as to make it necessary to ponder deeply over the solution (in the spirit of revolutionary Social-Democracy) of the immediate practical questions, and it may be said in advance and with full certainty that a "simple" solution cannot be invented.

Incidentally, once we have begun to compare the workers' and the peasants' sections of the programme, let us note still another difference in principle between them. This difference may be briefly formulated as follows: in the workers' section we have no right to go beyond the bounds of demands for social reform; in the peasants' section however, we must not stop at social-revolutionary demands. In other words: in the workers' section we are definitely

limited by the minimum programme; in the peasants' section we can and must produce a maximum programme.* Let us explain.

What we set forth in both sections is not our ultimate aim, but our immediate demands. In both we should therefore remain on the basis of present-day (=bourgeois) society. Therein lies the similarity between the two sections. However, their fundamental difference consists in the fact that the workers' section contains demands directed against the *bourgeoisie*, whereas the peasants' section contains demands directed against the would-be *serf-owning landlords* (against the feudal lords, I would say, if the applicability of this term to our landed nobility were not so disputable**). In the workers' section we must confine ourselves to *partial* improvements in the existing, bourgeois, order. In the peasants' section we must strive to *completely* eradicate all the remnants of the serf-owning system from this existing order. In the workers' section we cannot bring forward demands whose significance would be tantamount to a final smashing of bourgeois rule: when we achieve this ultimate aim of ours, which has been adequately stressed elsewhere in the programme and which we "never for a moment" lose sight of in the struggle for the immediate demands, then we, the Party of the proletariat, shall no longer confine ourselves to questions of this or that responsibility of the employers, or to some factory housing, but shall take into our own hands the *entire* management and disposal of the whole of social production, and consequently, of distribution as well. On the contrary, in the peasants' section we can and must bring

* The objection that the demand for the restitution of the cut off lands is far from being the maximum of our immediate demands in favour of the peasantry (or of our agrarian demands in general) and that it is therefore not consistent will be dealt with later, when we speak of the concrete clauses of the programme we are defending. We maintain, and shall endeavour to prove, that the demand for the "restitution of the cut-off lands" is the maximum that we can at present advance in our agrarian programme.

** Personally, I am inclined to decide this question in the affirmative, but in the given instance, it is of course neither the place nor time for substantiating or even for proposing this solution, since what we are concerned with now is the defence of the draft agrarian programme prepared collectively by the entire Editorial Board.

forward demands whose significance would be tantamount to the final smashing of the rule of the feudal-minded landlords and to the complete eradication of all traces of serf-ownership from our countryside. We cannot present social-revolutionary demands among the immediate demands in the workers' section, since the social revolution which overthrows the rule of the bourgeoisie is the proletarian revolution which achieves our *ultimate* aim. In the peasants' section, we present social-revolutionary demands as well, since the social revolution which overthrows the rule of the serf-owning landlords (i.e., a social revolution of the bourgeoisie, like the Great French Revolution) is also possible on the basis of the existing, bourgeois, order. In the workers' section, we keep to our stand (conditionally, for the time being, with our own independent intentions and aims, but we nevertheless keep to our stand) in favour of social reforms, for what we are demanding here is only what the bourgeoisie can (in principle) concede to us without as yet losing its domination (and what Messrs. the Sombarts, Bulgakovs, Struves, Prokopoviches and Co. therefore in advance advise the bourgeoisie to concede in all wisdom and good faith). In the peasants' section, however, we must, *unlike the social-reformers*, also demand what the feudal-minded landlords will not and cannot give us (or the peasants)—we must also demand what the revolutionary movement of the peasantry can take only by force.

IV

That is why the "simple" criterion of "feasibility", with the aid of which Martynov so "easily" pulled our agrarian programme to pieces, is inadequate and worthless. This criterion of direct and immediate "feasibility" is applicable in general only to the avowedly reformative sections and clauses of our programme, and by no means to the programme of a revolutionary party in general. In other words, this criterion is applicable to our programme only by way of exception, and by no means as a general rule. Our programme must be feasible only in the broad and philosophical sense of the word, so that not a single letter in it will contradict the direction of all social and economic evolution. And since we

have correctly determined this direction (in general and in particular), we must—in the name of our revolutionary principles and our revolutionary duty—fight *with all our might*, always and absolutely, for the *maximum* of our demands. However, to try to determine in advance, before the final outcome of the struggle, in the course of that struggle, that we shall perhaps fail to achieve the *entire* maximum means lapsing into sheer philistinism. Considerations of this kind always lead to opportunism, even if the authors of such considerations may harbour no such intentions.

Indeed, is it not philistinism on Martynov's part to discern "romanticism" in the *Iskra* agrarian programme "because *it is highly problematic whether the peasant masses can be brought into our movement* under the present conditions" (*Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 10, p. 58. Italics mine)? This is a good example of those very "plausible" and very cheap arguments by means of which Russian Social-Democratism was simplified to "economism". A closer look at this "plausible" argument will show that it is a soap-bubble. "Our movement" is the Social-Democratic labour movement. The *peasant masses* cannot just be "brought" *into it*: that is not problematic but *impossible*, and there was never any question of it. However, the peasant masses *cannot but be brought* into the "movement" against all the remnants of the serf-owning system (including the autocracy). Martynov confused matters by using the expression "our movement", without giving thought to the fundamental difference between the character of the movement against the bourgeoisie and against the serf-owning system.*

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* How little thought Martynov has given to the question he has undertaken to write on is most vividly seen from the following statement in his article: "In view of the fact that the agrarian section of our programme *will still be of comparatively little practical significance for a very long time to come*, it affords a wide field for revolutionary phrase-mongering." The underlined words contain the very confusion indicated in the text. Martynov has heard that in the West agrarian programmes are put forward only when there is a highly developed working-class movement. In our country this movement is just beginning. Hence, our publicist hastens to conclude—"for a very long time to come"! He has overlooked a trifle: in the West agrarian programmes are written for the purpose of drawing those who are *half-peasants*,

It is not the bringing of the peasant masses into the movement against remnants of serf-ownership that can be called problematic, but perhaps only the *degree* to which they are so brought: serf-owning relationships in the countryside are closely interwoven with bourgeois relationships, and as a class of bourgeois society the peasants (the small farmers) are far more a conservative than a revolutionary element (particularly since in our country the bourgeois evolution of agricultural relationships is only just beginning). That is why, in a period of political reforms, it will be far easier for the government to split the peasants (than, for instance, the workers), far easier for it to weaken (or even, at the worst, to paralyse) their revolutionary spirit by means of minor and insignificant concessions to a comparatively small number of petty proprietors.

All this is true. But what follows from it? The easier it is for the government to come to terms with the conservative elements of the peasantry, the greater must be our efforts, and the sooner we must exert them, to reach agreement with its revolutionary elements. It is our duty to determine with the greatest possible scientific precision the *direction* along which we must support these elements, and then to urge them to wage a resolute and unconditional struggle

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half-workers into the *Social*-Democratic movement against the *bourgeoisie*; while in our country such programmes are meant to draw the peasant *masses* into the *democratic* movement against the *remnants of the serf-owning system*. That is why in the West the significance of the agrarian programme will become all the *greater*, the more agricultural capitalism develops. The practical significance of our agrarian programme will *decrease*, as far as most of its demands are concerned, the *more* agricultural capitalism develops, since the remnants of serf-ownership this programme is directed against are dying out both of themselves and as the result of the government's policy. Our agrarian programme is, therefore, calculated in practice mainly for the immediate future, for the period *preceding* the downfall of the autocracy. A political revolution in Russia will at all events lead inevitably to such fundamental changes in our most backward agrarian system that we shall unfailingly have to revise our agrarian programme. But Martynov is quite sure of only one thing: that Kautsky's book[47] is good (this is warranted), and that it is sufficient to repeat and transcribe Kautsky without bearing in mind how radically different Russia is with regard to the agrarian programme (this is not at all wise).

against all remnants of the serf-owning system, to urge them on at all times and under all circumstances, by all available means. And is it not philistinism to attempt to "prescribe" in advance the *degree of success* that will attend our urging? That will be decided by life and recorded by history; our present job, in any case, is to fight on, and fight to the end. Does a soldier who has already gone into the attack dare argue that we perhaps will wipe out not an entire enemy army corps, but only three-fifths of it? Is not such a demand as, for instance, the demand for a *republic* also "problematic" in the Martynov sense? It will surely be easier for the government to make partial payment on *this* bill than to meet the bill of the peasant demands for the eradication of all traces of the serf-owning system. But what is that to us? We shall, of course, pocket this partial payment, without however calling off our desperate struggle for *full* payment. We must spread the idea far and wide that only in a republic can the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie take place; we must *create** and consolidate republican traditions among all the Russian revolutionaries and among the broadest possible masses of Russian workers; we should express through this "republic" slogan that we will carry to the end the struggle to democratise the state system, without looking back—and the struggle will itself determine what share of that payment, when and how, we shall succeed in winning. It would be stupid to try to calculate that share before we make the enemy feel the full force of our blows and without ourselves feeling the full force of his blows. Similarly, with regard to the peasant demands, our job is to determine, on the basis of scientific data, the *maximum* of these demands and to help the comrades to fight for this max-

* We say "create", because the old Russian revolutionaries never paid serious attention to the question of a republic, never considering it a "practical" issue—the Narodniks, the rebels, etc., because of their contemptuous anarchist attitude towards politics, those in the Narodnaya Volya[48] because they wanted to leap straight from the autocracy into the socialist revolution. It has fallen to our lot (if we leave out of account the long forgotten republican ideas of the Decembrists) to the lot of the Social-Democrats, to popularise the demand for a republic among the masses and to create republican traditions among the Russian revolutionaries.

imum—and then let the sober legal critics and the illegal "tail-enders", the latter so enamoured of tangible results, laugh at its "problematic" character!*

V

We shall now proceed to the second general proposition, which defines the nature of all our peasant demands and is expressed in the following words: "...*for the purpose of*

* It would perhaps be useful, in discussing the "feasibility" of the demands in the Social-Democratic programme, to recall Karl Kautsky's polemic against Rosa Luxemburg in 1896. Rosa Luxemburg wrote that the demand for Poland's restoration was inappropriate in the Polish Social-Democrats' practical programme, since this demand could not be realised in present-day society. Karl Kautsky took exception to this, saying that this argument was "based on a strange misconception of the essence of a socialist programme. Whether they find direct expression in the programme or are tacitly accepted 'postulates,' our practical demands should be conformed (*werden ... darnach bemessen*), not with their being *achievable* under the given alignment of forces, but with their *compatibility* with the existing social system, and with the consideration whether they can facilitate and further (*fördern*) the proletariat's class struggle, and pave (*ebnen*) for it the way to the political rule of the proletariat. In this, we take no account of the current alignment of forces. The Social-Democratic programme is not written for the given ("*den*") moment—as far as possible, it should cover (*ausreichen*) all eventualities in present-day society. It should serve not only for practical action (*der Action*), but for propaganda as well, in the form of concrete demands, it should indicate, more vividly than abstract arguments can do, the direction in which we intend to advance. The more distant practical aims we can set ourselves without straying into Utopian speculations, the better the direction in which we are advancing will be all the clearer to the masses—even to those who are unable to grasp (*erfassen*) our theoretical premises. The programme should show what we *demand* of existing society or of the existing state, and not what we *expect* of it. As an example, let us take the programme of German Social-Democracy. It demands that officials should be elected by the people. Measured by Miss Luxemburg's standards, this demand is just as Utopian as the demand for the establishment of a Polish national state. No one will be deluded into believing that it is possible to ensure that, under the political conditions obtaining in the German Reich, government officials are elected by the people. With just as good reason as one can assume that a Polish national state is achievable only when the proletariat wins political power, one can assert this concerning the above demand. But is that sufficient ground for not including it in our practical programme?" (*Neue Zeit*, XIV. 2, S. 513 u. 514. All italics are Karl Kautsky's.)

facilitating the free development of the class struggle in the countryside...."

These words are of the utmost importance both for the principled presentation of the agrarian question in general, and for an appraisal of individual agrarian demands in particular. The demand for the eradication of the remnants of the serf-owning system is common to us and to all the consistent liberals, Narodniks, social-reformers, critics of Marxism on the agrarian question, etc., etc. In advancing this demand, we differ from all these gentlemen, not in principle, but only in degree: in this point too they will inevitably remain at all times within the limits of reforms; we, however, will not stop (in the sense indicated above) even at social-revolutionary demands. On the contrary, by demanding that the "free development of the class struggle in the countryside" be ensured, we place ourselves in opposition to all these gentlemen in *principle*, *and even* to all revolutionaries and socialists who are *not* Social-Democrats. These latter will also not stop at social-revolutionary demands in the agrarian question, but they will not wish to subordinate these demands precisely to such a condition as the free development of the class struggle in the countryside. This condition is the fundamental and focal point in the theory of revolutionary Marxism in the sphere of the agrarian question.* To acknowledge this condition means recognising that, despite all its confusion and complexity, despite all the diversity of its forms, the evolution of agriculture is also capitalist evolution, that (like the evolution of industry) it also engenders the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie, that precisely *this* class struggle must be our prime and fundamental concern, the touchstone for both questions of principle and political tasks, as well as methods of propaganda, agitation, and organisation. To acknowledge this condition means undertaking to abide un-

* In essence all the delusions and fallacies of the "critics" of Marxism on the agrarian question boil down to a failure to understand this very point, and the boldest and most consistent (and to that extent the most honest) of them, Mr. Bulgakov, openly declares in his "survey" that the "doctrine" of the class struggle is quite inapplicable to agricultural relationships. (*Capitalism and Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 289.)

swervingly by the class viewpoint also in the very painful question of the participation of the small peasants in the Social-Democratic movement, means sacrificing nothing of the proletariat's standpoint in favour of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, but, on the contrary, demanding that the small peasant, who is being oppressed and ruined by all modern capitalism, should desert *his* own class standpoint and place himself at the standpoint of the proletariat.

By setting this condition, we shall resolutely and irrevocably put ourselves apart, not only from *our enemies* (i.e., the direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious supporters of the bourgeoisie, who are our temporary and partial allies in the struggle against the remnants of the serf-owning system), but also from those *unreliable friends* who, because of their mid-course presentation of the agrarian question, can cause (and actually do cause) much harm to the proletariat's revolutionary movement.

By setting this condition, we are providing a guiding principle that will enable any Social-Democrat, even if he finds himself in some out-of-the-way village, even if he is faced with the most tangled web of agrarian relationships which bring *general* democratic tasks into the foreground, to apply and stress his proletarian standpoint when he is tackling those tasks—just as we remain Social-Democrats when we tackle *general*-democratic, political problems.

By setting this condition, we are replying to the objection that many people bring forward after a cursory acquaintance with the concrete demands in our agrarian programme.... "Redemption payments and cut-off lands shall be restituted to the *village communes*"!?—But, then, where is our specifically proletarian complexion and our proletarian independence? Is this not in effect a gift to the rural bourgeoisie??

Of course it is—but only in the sense that the fall of the serf-owning system was itself a "gift to the bourgeoisie", i.e., since it relieved bourgeois, and not some other development, from the fetters and restrictions of the serf-owning system. The proletariat is distinguished from all the other classes oppressed by and opposed to the bourgeoisie for the very reason that it rests its hopes, not on a retardation of bourgeois development, or on any abatement or slackening of the class struggle, but, on the contrary, on the fullest and

freest development of the class struggle, on the acceleration of bourgeois progress.* In a developing capitalist society *it is impossible* to eradicate the remnants of the serf-owning system which hamper its development, in such a way as not to strengthen and fortify the bourgeoisie. To be "baffled" by this is equivalent to repeating the mistake of those socialists who said that we have no need of political liberty since it might strengthen and fortify the rule of the bourgeoisie.

VI

Having examined the "general section" of our agrarian programme, we shall now proceed to analyse its specific demands. We shall take the liberty of beginning not with the first but with the fourth clause (on the cut-off lands), since this is the most important and the central clause, the one that lends a special character to the agrarian programme and is at the same time its most vulnerable point (at any rate, in the view of most of those who voiced their opinions on the article in No. 3 of *Iskra*).

Let us recall that this clause is made up of the following components: 1. It demands the establishment of peasant committees with authority to reorganise agrarian relationships that are direct survivals of the serf-owning system. The expression "peasant committees" has been chosen to make it quite clear that, as distinct from the "Reform" of 1861 with its committees of nobles,[49] the reorganisation of these relationships must rest with the peasants, and not with the landowners. In other words: the final abolition of relationships stemming from the serf-owning system is left, not to the oppressors, but to the section of the population which is oppressed by these relationships; not to the minority, but to the majority of those concerned. In essence, this is nothing but *a democratic revision of the peasant reform* (i.e., the very thing demanded by the first draft programme prepared by

* It stands to reason that the proletariat does not support all measures accelerating bourgeois progress, but only those that tend *directly* to strengthen the capacity of the working class to struggle for its emancipation. And "labour rent" and bondage weigh upon the poor section of the peasantry, which is close to the proletariat, much more heavily than upon the well-to-do section of the peasantry.

the Emancipation of Labour group). And the only reason we have not chosen this latter expression is because it indicates the true nature and concrete substance of this revision less definitely and less expressively. Therefore, if Martynov, for instance, really had some contribution to make on the agrarian question, he should have stated definitely whether he rejects the very idea of a democratic revision of the peasant reform, and if not, then he should have stated just how *he* pictures it.*

Further, 2. The peasant committees are given the right to expropriate and redeem landlords' land, to effect exchanges of land, and so on (Clause 4,b); moreover, this right is limited to cases where there is a direct survival of serf-owning relationships. Specifically (3), the right to expropriate and redeem is granted only with regard to land which, first, was "cut off from the peasants when serfdom was abolished" (since time immemorial this land had been an essential appurtenance of the peasant farm, part and parcel of that farm, and was artificially severed from it by the legalised robbery known as the great Peasant Reform)—and, secondly, is "used by the landlords as a means of keeping the peasants in bondage".

This second condition still more limits the right of redemption and expropriation, extending it, not to all "cut-off lands",

* We note the inconsistency (or is it reservation?) of Nadezhdin, who has apparently adopted *Iskra*'s idea of peasant committees in his outline of the agrarian programme, but formulates this idea most lamely when he says: "The institution of a special court of people's representatives to examine peasant *complaints* and statements with regard to all the transactions attending the 'Emancipation'." (*The Eve of the Revolution*, p. 65. Italics mine.) One can *complain* only about a *breach* of the law. The "Emancipation" of February 19, with all its "transactions", itself constitutes a *law*. The establishment of special courts to examine complaints about the injustice of a given law is senseless until that law is repealed, or new legislative standards have been set up to replace this law (or to annul it in part). The "court" should be invested not only with the right to receive "complaints" about lands cut off from pastures but also the right to return (*resp.* redeem, etc.) that pasture land—but in that case, first, a "court" authorised to make laws would no longer be a court; secondly, it is necessary to indicate definitely just what rights of expropriation, redemption, etc., this "court" would have. But however inapt Nadezhdin's formulation may be, he has grasped the need for a democratic revision of the Peasant Reform much better than Martynov has.

but only to such that to this day remain instruments of bondage and "by means of which", as *Iskra* has formulated it, "forced labour, bondage, the corvée system, i.e., in actual fact the very same serf labour, *is still maintained*". In other words, wherever the half-hearted nature of our Peasant Reform has led to serf-owning forms of farming surviving to this day, with the aid of land cut off from the peasants' lands, the peasants are given the right to do away with these survivals once and for all, even by means of expropriation, the right to the "*restitution of the cut-off lands*".

We can therefore reassure our kind-hearted Martynov, who has asked with such alarm: "What should be done about those cut-off lands in the possession of the nobility or purchasers of non-noble origin, which are now being cultivated along model, capitalist lines?" It is not a question of these particular cut-off lands, my worthy friend, but rather of those typical (and extremely numerous) cut-off lands which to this very day serve as a basis for still existing remnants of the serf-owning system.

Finally, 4. Clause 4, b, empowers the peasant committees to eradicate remnants of serf-owning system which still survive in certain parts of the country (servitude, uncompleted allotment of land, its demarcation, and so forth and so on).

Hence, for the sake of simplicity, the entire content of Clause 4 may be briefly expressed as "restitution of the cut-off lands". The question arises: how did the idea of this demand originate? It arose as the direct outcome of the general and fundamental proposition that we must assist the peasants and urge them to destroy all remnants of the serf-owning system as completely as possible. This meets with "general approval", doesn't it? Well then, if you do agree to follow this road, make an effort to proceed along it independently; don't make it necessary to drag you; don't let the "unusual" appearance of this road frighten you, don't be put out by the fact that in many places you will find no beaten track at all, and that you will have to crawl along the edge of precipices, break your way through thickets, and leap across chasms. Don't complain of the poor road: these complaints will be futile whining, for you should have known in advance that you would be moving, not along a highway

that has been graded and levelled by all the forces of social progress, but along paths through out-of-the-way places and back-alleys which do have a way out, but from which you, we or anyone else will never find a direct, simple, and easy way out—"never", i.e., whilst these disappearing, but so slowly disappearing, out-of-the-way places and back-alleys continue to exist.

But if you do not want to stray into these back-alleys, then say so frankly and don't try to get away by phrase-mongering.*

You agree to fight for the abolition of the remnants of the serf-owning system? Very well. Remember, however, that *there does not exist* a single juridical institution to express or stipulate these remnants—I am of course speaking of those remnants exclusively in the sphere of the agrarian relationships that we are discussing now, and not in the sphere of legislation relating to the social-estates, financial affairs, etc. Direct survivals of the corvée system, recorded times without number in all the economic surveys of Russia, are maintained, not by any special law which protects them, but by the actually existing land relationships. This is so to such an extent that witnesses testifying before the well-known Valuyev Commission[50] openly stated that serf-ownership would undoubtedly have been revived had it not been

* For instance, Martynov levels a charge of "phrase-mongering" against *Iskra*, which has given him both the general principles of its agrarian policy ("the introduction of the class struggle into the countryside") and a practical answer to the question of concrete programme demands. Without replacing these general principles with any others, without giving even the slightest thought to these principles, or making any attempt to draw up a definite programme, Martynov dismisses the whole matter with the following grandiloquent words: "...We must demand their [the peasants' as petty proprietors] protection ... against various obsolete forms of economic bondage...." Isn't that getting off rather cheaply? Couldn't you try to point out to us *at least one* protective measure *against at least one* (let alone "various"!) obsolete form of bondage? (Evidently there are also "forms of bondage" that are not obsolete!!) After all, the small credit associations, the amalgamated dairies, the mutual aid societies, the associations of small farmers the peasant banks, and the Zemstvo agronomists are likewise all "protective measures against various obsolete forms of economic bondage". Does it follow that you propose that "we must demand" all this?? You had better do some thinking first, my good friend, and then speak of programmes!

directly prohibited by law. Hence, one of two things: either you refrain altogether from touching upon the land relationships between the peasants and the landlords—in which case all the remaining questions are solved very "simply", but then you will also be ignoring the main source of all the survivals of serf-owning economy in the countryside, and will "simply" be avoiding a burning question bearing on the most vital interests of the feudal landlords and the enslaved peasantry, a question which tomorrow or the day after may easily become one of the most pressing social and political issues in Russia. Or else you want also to touch upon the source of the "obsolete forms of economic bondage" represented by the land relationships—in which case you must reckon with the fact that these relationships are so complex and entangled that they do not actually permit of any easy or simple solution. Then, if you are not satisfied with the concrete solutions we have proposed for this complex question, you no longer *have the right* to get away with a general "complaint" about its complexity, but *must* attempt to cope with it independently, and propose some other concrete solution.

The importance of the cut-off lands in present-day peasant farming is a question of reality. And it is noteworthy that deep as the gulf is between Narodism (in the broad sense of the word) and Marxism in the appraisal of the economic system and the economic evolution of Russia, the two doctrines have no divergence on *this* question. Representatives of both trends are agreed that the Russian countryside is teeming with remnants of serf-ownership and (*nota bene*) that the predominant mode of private farming in the central gubernias of Russia (the "labour-rent system of farming") is a direct survival of the serf-owning system. They are agreed furthermore that the cutting-off of peasant land in favour of the landlords—i.e., both the cutting-off in the downright literal sense and the depriving of the peasants of the right to use common lands as pasturage, the right to use woodlands, watering places, grazing grounds, and so forth—constitutes one of the mainstays (*if not the mainstay*) of the labour-rent system. It will suffice to recall that, according to the most recent data, the labour-rent system of landlord farming *predominates in no less than 17 gubernias of European Russia*. Let those who regard the clause on the cut-off

lands as a purely artificial, "laboured" and wily invention try to dispute this fact!

Here is what the labour-rent system of farming means. In actual fact, i.e., not according to ownership but according to economic utilisation, the landlords' and the peasants' lands have not been divided up completely, but remain merged; part of the peasants' land, for example, feeds cattle required for the cultivation not of the peasants' land but of the landlords' land; part of the landlords' land is absolutely indispensable to the neighbouring peasant farm as it is run at present (watering places, grazing grounds, etc.). This actual interlinking of land tenures *inevitably* engenders the same (or, more precisely, preserves the thousand-year-old) relationships between muzhik and landlord that existed under the serf-owning system. The muzhik remains a serf *de facto*, working with the same antiquated implements, on the basis of the old three-field system, for the same old "lord of the manor". What else do you want, if the peasants themselves everywhere bluntly call this labour rent "*panshchina*" and "*barshchina*",* if the landlords themselves say when they describe their farms: my land is worked by "my former..." (that is, not only former, but present as well!) "...peasants" with their own implements in exchange for the use of my pasture land?

Whenever it becomes necessary to solve any complex and entangled social and economic problem, it is an elementary rule that one should take the most typical case to begin with, the case that is freest of all extraneous complicating influences and circumstances, and use the solution reached in this case as a premise for further procedure, while taking stock of these extraneous and complicating circumstances, one by one. Take a case that is most "typical" in this respect: the children of the former serfs are working for the sons of the former serf-owners to pay for the use of the latter's pasture lands. Labour rent makes for stagnation in cultivation techniques and for stagnation in *all* social and economic relationships in the countryside, since this labour rent hampers the development of money economy and the

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* *Panshchina* and *barshchina* are two equivalent terms, with roughly the meaning of the corvée system.—*Ed.*

differentiation of the peasantry, disembarrasses the landlord (comparatively) of the stimulus of competition (instead of raising the technical level, he reduces the share of the share-cropper; incidentally, this reduction has been recorded in a number of localities for many years of the post-Reform period), ties the peasant to the land, thereby checking the progress of migration, outside employment, etc.

The question arises whether any Social-Democrat will doubt that in this "pure" case the expropriation of the corresponding part of the landlords' land in favour of the peasants is wholly natural, desirable, and achievable. This expropriation will rouse Oblomov[51] from his slumber and force him to introduce more advanced methods of farming on his smaller estate; this expropriation will undermine (I will not say destroy, but precisely undermine) the labour-rent system, encourage the spirit of independence and democracy among the peasantry, raise their standard of living, and give a powerful impulse to the further development of money economy and capitalist progress in agriculture.

And in general: once it is generally acknowledged that the cut-off lands are one of the principal roots of the labour-rent system—and this system is a direct survival of serf-ownership which retards the development of capitalism—how can one doubt that the restitution of the cut-off lands will undermine the labour-rent system and accelerate social and economic progress?

VII

There are nevertheless very many who have doubted this, and we shall now proceed to consider the arguments advanced by the doubters. All these arguments may be classified in the following groups: a) Is the demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands consistent with the basic theoretical principles of Marxism and with the principles of the Social-Democratic programme? b) Is it wise, from the viewpoint of political expedience, to advance the demand for redressing a historical injustice, the significance of which is diminishing with every step in economic development? c) Can this demand be realised in practice? d) Admitting that we

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can and must advance such a demand and include in our agrarian programme not the minimum but the maximum, is the demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands consistent from this point of view? Is such a demand actually a maximum?

As far as I can judge, *all* objections "against the cut-off lands" fit into one or another of these four groups; moreover, most of the objectors (including Martynov) have answered all four questions in the negative, considering the demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands wrong in principle, politically inexpedient, practically unattainable, and logically inconsistent.

Let us consider all these questions in their order of importance.

a) The demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands is considered wrong in principle for two reasons. In the first place, we are told that it will "affect" capitalist agriculture, i.e., hold up or delay the development of capitalism; in the second place, we are told that it will not only fortify but actually multiply small property. The first of these arguments (particularly emphasised by Martynov) is absolutely untenable, because, on the contrary, typical cut-off lands retard the development of capitalism, and their restitution will stimulate this development; as for non-typical cases (quite apart from the fact that exceptions are always and everywhere possible and only go to prove the rule), a reservation was made both in *Iskra* and in the programme ("...the land cut off ... and now used as a means of bondage..."). This objection is due simply to ignorance of the real importance of the cut-off lands and labour rent in the economy of the Russian countryside.

The second argument (which was developed in particular detail in several private letters) is much more serious and is in general the strongest argument against the programme we are defending. Generally speaking, it is not at all the task of the Social-Democrats to develop, support, consolidate, let alone, multiply, small-scale farming and small property. That is quite true. But the point is that what confronts us here is not a "general" but an *exceptional* case of small-scale farming, and this exceptional character *is clearly expressed* in the preamble to our agrarian programme: "the destruc-

tion of the remnants of the serf-owning system and the free development of the class struggle in the countryside." *Generally* speaking, it is reactionary to support small property *because* such support is directed against large-scale *capitalist* economy and, consequently, retards social development, and obscures and glosses over the class struggle. In this case, however, we want to support small property not against capitalism but against serf-ownership; in this case, by supporting the small peasantry, we give a powerful impulse to the development of the class struggle. Indeed, on the one hand, we are thus making a *last* attempt to fan the embers of the peasants' class (social-estate) enmity for the feudal-minded landlords. On the other hand, we are clearing the way for the development of the bourgeois class antagonism in the countryside, because that antagonism is at present *masked* by what is supposedly the common and equal oppression of all the peasants by the remnants of the serf-owning system.

There are two sides to all things in the world. In the West, the peasant proprietor has already played his part in the democratic movement, and is now defending his position of privilege as compared with the proletariat. In Russia, the peasant proprietor is as yet on the eve of a decisive and nation-wide democratic movement with which he cannot but sympathise. He still looks ahead more than he looks back. He is still more of a fighter against the privileges of the former serf-owners as a social-estate, privileges which are still so strong in Russia, than a defender of his own privileged position. In a historic moment *like the present*, it is our direct duty to support the peasants and to try to direct their as yet vague and blind discontent against their real enemy. And we shall not be in the least contradicting ourselves if we delete from our programme the struggle against the remnants of the serf-owning system in the subsequent historical period when the special features of the present social and political "juncture" will have disappeared, when the peasants, let us suppose, will have been satisfied by insignificant concessions made to an insignificant number of property-owners and begin definitely to "snarl" at the proletariat. Then, we shall probably also have to delete from our programme the struggle against the autocracy, for it is quite inconceivable that the peasants will succeed in ridding them-

selves of the most repulsive and grievous form of feudal oppression *before* political liberty has been attained.

Under the capitalist system of economy, small property retards the development of the productive forces by tying the worker to a small plot of land, by legalising old-fashioned techniques, and by making it difficult to bring land into the trade turnover. Where the labour-rent system predominates, small landed property, by ridding itself of labour rent, stimulates the development of the productive forces, releases the peasant from the bondage that tied him down to one particular place, relieves the landlord of "gratuitous" servants, makes it impossible for him to prefer unlimited intensification of "patriarchal" exploitation to technical improvements, and facilitates land being brought into the trade turnover. In a word, the contradictory position of the small peasant on the boundary between serf economy and capitalist economy fully justifies this exceptional and temporary support of small property by the Social-Democrats. We repeat: this is not a contradiction in the wording or in the formulation of our programme, but a contradiction in real life.

It may be argued: "However slowly the labour-rent farming may be yielding to the pressure of capitalism, still it is yielding; it is, moreover, doomed to disappear completely; large-scale labour-rent farming is giving way to, and will be directly replaced by, large-scale capitalist farming. What you want is to accelerate the elimination of serf-owning by a measure which in essence amounts to the splitting-up (partial, but nevertheless splitting-up) of large-scale farms. Are you not thereby sacrificing the interests of the future for the interests of the present? For the sake of the problematic possibility of a peasant revolt against serf-owning in the immediate future, you are placing obstacles in the way of a revolt of the agricultural proletariat against capitalism in the more or less distant future!"

This argument, however convincing it may seem at first glance, is very one-sided: in the first place, the small peasantry is also yielding—slowly no doubt, but nevertheless yielding—to the pressure of capitalism, and is likewise ultimately doomed to inevitable elimination; in the second place, large-scale labour-rent farming too is not always "directly" replaced by large-scale capitalist farming; it quite often gives

rise to a section of semi-dependent peasants—semi-farm labourers, semi-proprietors. And yet, such a revolutionary measure as the restitution of the cut-off lands would render a tremendous service precisely by substituting, at least once, the "method" of open revolutionary transformation for the "method" of gradual and imperceptible transformation of serf dependence into bourgeois dependence: this *could not fail to exert the profoundest influence* on the spirit of protest and the independent struggle of the entire rural working population. In the third place, we, Russian Social-Democrats, will also try to make use of the experience of Europe, and begin to attract the "country folk" to the socialist working-class movement at a much earlier stage and much more zealously than was done by our Western comrades, who after the conquest of political liberty, continued for a long time to "grope" for the road the industrial workers' movement should follow: in this sphere we shall take much that is ready-made "from the Germans", but in the agrarian sphere we may perhaps evolve something new. And in order to facilitate for our farm labourers and semi-farm labourers the subsequent transition to socialism, it is highly important that the socialist party begin to "stand up" *at once* for the small peasants, and do "everything possible" for them, never refusing a hand in solving the urgent and complex "alien" (non-proletarian) problems, and helping the working and exploited masses to regard the socialist party as their leader and representative.

To proceed. b) The demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands is considered politically inexpedient, since, it is argued, it is imprudent to switch the attention of the Party from the fundamental and imminent issue of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie over to the redressing of all sorts of historical injustices, which are already beginning to lose immediate significance. As Martynov sarcastically puts it, this amounts to "re-emancipating the peasants forty years too late".

This argument too appears plausible, but only at first glance. Historical injustices are of different kinds. There are such which, as it were, keep aloof from the mainstream of history, do not check that stream or hinder its course, and do not prevent the proletarian class struggle from extending and

from striking deeper roots. It would certainly be unwise to try to redress historical injustices of this kind. As an example, we shall mention the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany. No Social-Democratic party would think of including in its programme the redress of a wrong of *this* kind, although, on the other hand, not one would shirk its duty of protesting against this injustice and of condemning all the ruling classes for having perpetrated it. If we had motivated our demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands only on the ground that an injustice had been committed and should be redressed, that would have been no more than a hollow democratic phrase. However, we do not make any plaint over a historical injustice the motivation of our demand, but rather the need to abolish the remnants of the serf-owning system and to clear the road for the class struggle in the countryside, i.e., a very "practical" and very pressing need for the proletariat.

We have here an example of a *different* kind of historical injustice, one which still *directly retards* social development and the class struggle. A refusal to attempt to redress historical injustices of *this* kind would mean "defending the knout on the ground that it is a historical knout". The problem of freeing our countryside from the burden of the remnants of the "old regime" is one of the most urgent questions of the day, one that is put forward by all trends and parties (except that of the former serf-owners), so that the reference to our being late is pointless in general and simply ludicrous when voiced by Martynov. It is the Russian bourgeoisie who were "late" with what is really *their* task of sweeping away all the remnants of the old regime, and we must and shall rectify this omission until it has been rectified, until we have won political liberty, as long as the position of the peasants continues to foster dissatisfaction among practically the whole of educated bourgeois society (as is the case in Russia), instead of fostering a feeling of conservative self-satisfaction among it on account of the "indestructibility" of what is supposed to be the strongest bulwark against socialism (as is the case in the West where this self-satisfaction is displayed by all the parties of Order, ranging from the Agrarians and Conservatives *pur sang*, through the liberal and free-thinking bourgeois, to even as far—without offence to Messrs. the Chernovs and the *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*!—to

even as far as the fashionable "critics of Marxism" in the agrarian question). Then, of course, those Russian Social-Democrats who trail along in the rear of the movement as a matter of principle, and who are concerned only with questions "promising palpable results", were also "late", and, because they were late in giving definite directives on the agrarian question as well, these "tail-enders" have succeeded only in providing the non-Social-Democratic revolutionary trends with a highly potent and reliable weapon.

As for c) the practical "infeasibility" of the demand that the cut-off lands should be restituted, this objection (which has been particularly stressed by Martynov) is of the feeblest. In conditions of political liberty, the question of determining in which concrete cases expropriation, redemption, exchange, demarcation, etc., should be carried out and exactly how this should be done would be solved by the peasant committees ten times more easily than by the committees of nobles, which consisted of representatives of a minority and acted in the interests of that minority. Only those who are used to underestimating the revolutionary activity of the masses can attach any importance to this objection.

At this point the fourth and last objection is raised. If we are to count on the revolutionary activity of the peasants and offer them a maximum and not a minimum programme, we must be consistent and demand either a peasant "General Redistribution"[52] or bourgeois nationalisation of the land! "If," writes Martynov, "we wanted to find a genuine (*sic!*) class slogan for the mass of the small peasantry, we should have to go further and advance the demand for a 'General Redistribution', but then we should have to part with the Social-Democratic programme."

This reasoning betrays the "economist" most strikingly, and reminds us of the saying about those who, if they are compelled to pray, do it with such zeal that they bang their foreheads against the ground.

You have pronounced yourselves in favour of *one* of the demands which satisfy *certain* interests of a certain section of the small producers: *hence it follows* that you must desert your own standpoint and adopt the standpoint of that section!! Nothing of the sort follows; only "tail-enders", who confuse the drawing-up of a programme conforming

to a class's broadly conceived interests with subservience to that class, can reason in this way. Although we represent the proletariat, we will nevertheless condemn outright the prejudiced idea of backward proletarians that one must fight only for demands "promising palpable results". While supporting the progressive interests and demands of the peasants, we will decisively reject their reactionary demands. The "General Redistribution", one of the most outstanding slogans of the old Narodniks, represents a combination of just such revolutionary and reactionary features. The Social-Democrats have stated dozens of times that they do not at all discard the whole of Narodism, with the forthrightness of a certain foolish bird, but select and take for their own its revolutionary and general democratic elements. The demand for "General Redistribution" contains the reactionary Utopian idea of generalising and perpetuating small-scale peasant production, but it also contains (in addition to the Utopian idea that the "peasantry" can serve as the vehicle of the *socialist* revolution) a revolutionary element, namely, the desire to sweep away by means of a peasant revolt all the remnants of the serf-owning system. In our opinion, the demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands singles out from all the peasant's two-way and contradictory demands precisely that which can have a revolutionary effect only in the direction along which society's entire development is proceeding, and consequently deserves the proletariat's support. In actual fact, Martynov's invitation to "go further" only lands us in the absurd position of having to define the "*genuine*" class slogan of the peasantry from the standpoint of the *existing* prejudices of the peasantry, and not from that of the *properly understood* interests of the proletariat.

Nationalisation of the land is a different matter. This demand (if it is interpreted in the bourgeois sense, and not in the socialist) does actually "go further" than the demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands, and in principle we fully endorse it. It goes without saying that, when the revolutionary moment comes, we shall not fail to advance it. But our present programme is being drawn up, not only for the period of revolutionary insurrection, not even so much for that period, as for the period of political slavery, for the

period that precedes political liberty. However, in this period the demand for the nationalisation of the land is *much less* expressive of the immediate tasks of the democratic movement in the meaning of a struggle against the serf-owning system. The demand for the establishment of peasant committees and for the restitution of the cut-off lands kindles this class struggle in the countryside directly and, consequently, cannot give occasion for any experiments in state socialism. The demand for the nationalisation of the land, on the other hand, to a certain extent diverts attention from the most striking manifestations and most outstanding survivals of serf-ownership. That is why our agrarian programme can and must be advanced at once as a means of stimulating the democratic movement among the peasants. However, to advance the demand for nationalisation of the land under the autocracy or even under a semi-constitutional monarchy would be quite wrong. For, while we lack firmly established and deep-rooted democratic political institutions, this demand will be much more likely to distract our minds towards absurd experiments in state socialism than to provide a stimulus "for the free development of the class struggle in the countryside".*

That is why we think that, on the basis of the present social system, the maximum demand in our agrarian programme should not go beyond the democratic revision of the Peasant Reform. The demand for nationalisation of the land, while quite valid in principle and quite suitable at certain moments, is politically inexpedient at the present moment.

It is interesting to note that, in his desire to reach just such a maximum as nationalisation of the land, Nadezhdin has gone astray (partly owing to his decision to confine himself in the programme "to demands which the muzhik understands and needs"). Nadezhdin formulates the demand for nationalisation of the land as follows: "the conversion of

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* Kautsky very rightly remarked in one of his articles against Vollmar: "In Britain the advanced workers may demand nationalisation of the land. But what would be the outcome if, in a militarist and police state like Germany, all the land became state property (*eine Domäne*)? This sort of state socialism has been realised, at least, to a considerable degree, in Mecklenburg." ("*Vollmar und der Staatssozialismus*", *Neue Zeit*, 1891-92, X. 2, S. 710.)

state, royal, church, and landlords' lands into public property, into a national fund to be allocated to the working peasantry on long-term leases and on the most advantageous terms." The "muzhik" will, no doubt, understand this demand, but the Social-Democrat will probably not. The demand for nationalisation of the land is a demand of the Social-Democrat programme which is valid in principle only as a bourgeois and not as a socialist measure, for, as socialists, we demand the nationalisation of *all* the means of production. So long as we remain on the basis of bourgeois society we can demand only the transfer of ground rent to the state—a transfer which in itself far from retarding would accelerate the capitalist evolution of agriculture. It follows that, in the first place, a Social-Democrat, while supporting bourgeois nationalisation of the land, must by no means exclude the peasants' land, as Nadezhdin has done. If we preserve a *private* system of economy on the land, merely abolishing private ownership of land, it would be utterly reactionary to exclude the small proprietor *in this connection*. In the second place, if *such* nationalisation took place, a Social-Democrat would resolutely oppose the leasing of national land "to the working peasantry" in preference to the agrarian capitalists. This preference would also be reactionary, given domination or preservation of the capitalist mode of production. If a democratic country undertook to carry out bourgeois nationalisation of the land, it would be the duty of that country's proletariat to show no preference either for small or big leaseholders, but to demand unconditionally that *every* leaseholder observe the labour protection laws (on the maximum working day, health regulations, etc., etc.) and the laws governing rational cultivation of the land and care of livestock. In practice, the proletariat's adoption of such a policy in the event of bourgeois nationalisation would of course be tantamount to hastening the victory of large-scale production over small-scale (in the same way as factory legislation speeds up that victory in industry).

The desire to be "understood by the muzhik" at all costs has driven Nadezhdin into the jungle of a reactionary petty-bourgeois Utopia.*

* As for Nadezhdin, he has in our opinion acted very inconsistently by demanding, in his outline of an agrarian programme, the conver-

Thus, an analysis of objections to the demand for restitution of the cut-off lands convinces us that these objections are groundless. We must put forward the demand for the democratic revision of the Peasant Reform, or, to be precise, for the revision of the agrarian reforms contained in it. To determine the precise character, limits, and manner of carrying out this revision, we must demand the establishment of peasant committees which shall have the right to expropriate, redeem, exchange, etc., those cut-off lands in which survivals of the serf-owning system of economy are rooted.

VIII

The fifth clause in our draft agrarian programme is closely bound up with the fourth. Clause 5 demands "empowerment of courts to reduce exorbitant rents and declare null and void all contracts entailing bondage". Like Clause 4, it is directed against bondage; unlike Clause 4 it demands, not a single act of revision and reform of the agrarian system, but constant revision of civic rights. *This* is entrusted to the "courts", meaning, of course, not those miserable parodies of courts which form the "institute" of rural superintendents[54] (or even the Justices of the Peace, who are elected by the propertied classes from among property holders), but those courts referred to in § 16 of the preceding section of our draft programme. This § 16 demands that "industrial courts be set up in all branches of the national economy..." (hence in agriculture as well) "... with equal representation of workers and employers". Such composition of the courts would be a guarantee both of their democratic nature and free expression of the different class interests of the various sections of the rural population. Class antagonism would not be covered up with the fig-

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sion into "public property" of all kinds of land, *except peasants' land*, and allocations from a "national (land) fund" for "long-term leases *to the working peasantry*". In the first place, a Social-Democrat could not exclude peasant holdings from the general nationalisation of the land. Secondly, he would advocate nationalisation of the land only as a transition to large-scale communist, and not small individual, farming. Nadezhdin's mistake is probably due to his decision to limit the programme to "demands which the muzhik *understands* (italics mine) and needs".[53]

leaf of rotten bureaucratism—that whited sepulchre for the remains of popular liberties—but would stand out openly and clearly to the general view, thereby rousing the country folk from their patriarchal slumber. The election of judges from among the local inhabitants would guarantee their being familiar with agrarian life in general and its local features in particular. For the masses of the peasants, who could not come under the heading of "workers" or "employers", special rules would naturally be established to ensure equal representation of all elements of the rural population. Moreover, we, Social-Democrats, would categorically insist under all circumstances, first, on *separate* representation for the agricultural wage-workers, however few they may be, and, secondly, that economically weak peasants and prosperous peasants should if possible be represented separately (for confusion of these two categories, not only results in false statistics, but leads to the oppression and constraint of the former by the latter in all fields of life).

The competence of these courts would be twofold: firstly, they would be empowered to *reduce* rents where they are "exorbitant". This very wording in the programme recognises in oblique fashion how widespread this phenomenon is. The fact that the question of the level of rent would be examined by courts in open session and with both parties represented would be of enormous benefit, irrespective of what the court might decide. Reductions of rent (even though these reductions might be infrequent) would play their part in removing the remnants of serf-ownership: it is well known that in our countryside rent is more often of a serf-owning than a bourgeois nature; it is much more "money" rent (i.e., a modified form of feudal rent) than capitalist rent (i.e., the surplus over and above the profit of the employer). Reductions of rent would therefore directly help to replace serf-owning forms of farming by capitalist forms.

Secondly, the courts would be empowered "to declare null and void all contracts entailing bondage". The meaning of "bondage" is not defined here, since it would be wholly undesirable to hamper the elected judges in the application of this clause. The Russian muzhik knows only too well what bondage is! From the scientific standpoint this concept covers all contracts which entail elements of *usury* (winter

hiring, etc.) or *serfdom* (labour rent for damage done by straying cattle, etc.).

Clause 3, on the restitution of redemption payments to the people, is of a somewhat different nature. Here the doubts that Clause 4 evokes on the score of small property do not arise. On the other hand, the objectors point to both the practical infeasibility of this demand and the absence of a logical connection between this clause and the general section of our agrarian programme (="the eradication of the remnants of the serf-owning system and the free development of the class struggle in the countryside"). Nevertheless, no one will deny that it is precisely the remnants of the serf-owning system that in their aggregate are the cause of the constant famines which affect millions of peasants and at once set Russia apart from all civilised nations. Even the autocracy has therefore been obliged more and more frequently to institute a special fund (utterly trifling, of course, and going more to line the pockets of embezzlers of state property and bureaucrats than for the relief of the famine-stricken) "for the cultural and charitable needs of the village communes". We, too, cannot but demand, among other democratic reforms, that such a fund be established. That can scarcely be disputed.

The question now arises, from what source should the sum required for this fund be obtained? So far as we can judge, a progressive income-tax might be suggested to us: the rates of taxation on the incomes of the rich should be raised for the purpose, and the sums obtained thereby used for this fund. It would be only fair for the country's wealthiest citizens to contribute most for the maintenance of the famine-stricken and for expenditures on the greatest possible alleviation of calamities caused by famines. We would have nothing against such a measure either, which need not be specially mentioned in the programme since it is fully covered by the demand for a progressive income-tax, which is a separate item in the programme. But why confine oneself to this source? Why not try, in addition, to return to the people at least part of the tribute which yesterday's slave-owners extracted, and are still extracting, from the peasants with the assistance of the police state? Is not this tribute most closely bound up with the *present-day* famines? And would not the demand to return this tribute render us the

greatest service in spreading and intensifying the revolutionary indignation of the peasants against all feudal landlords and against bondage of every kind?

But, then—the objection is raised—this tribute *cannot* be returned in full. Quite so (just as the cut-off lands cannot be restituted in full). But if one cannot get the whole debt back, why not take part of it? What objection can there be to a special land-tax on the big landed nobility who received land redemption loans? The number of such owners of latifundia (which occasionally even become entailed estates) is quite considerable in Russia, and it would be only fair to make them bear a special responsibility for famines among the peasantry. It will be even fairer to confiscate in full monasterial property and royal demesnes, as property most thoroughly steeped in traditions of serf-ownership and serving to enrich the most reactionary and socially most harmful drones, and at the same time to withdraw no small amount of land from civil and commercial circulation. Confiscation of such estates would therefore be wholly in the interests of all social development*; it would be precisely the sort of partial bourgeois nationalisation of the land that could under no circumstances lead to the hocus-pocus of "state socialism". It would be of direct and enormous political importance in strengthening the democratic institutions of the *new* Russia; and at the same time it would also provide additional funds for famine relief.

IX

Finally, as to the first two clauses of our agrarian programme, there is no need to dwell on them at length. "Abolition of land redemption and quit-rent payments, as well as of all services now imposed on the peasantry as a taxable social-estate" (Clause 1) is something that is self-evident to every Social-Democrat. Moreover, no doubts arise as to the practical feasibility of this measure, so far as we can judge. The second clause demands "annulment of collective liability and

* With regard to the leasing of these confiscated estates, the Social-Democrats should by no means pursue a specifically peasant policy, but should at once pursue the policy outlined by us above in our objections to Nadezhdin.

of all laws restricting the peasant...” (note: “peasant” and not “peasants”) “...in the free disposal of his land”. Here we must say a few words about the much-vaunted and memorable “*village commune*”. Actually, of course, the annulment of collective liability (Mr. Witte may manage to put this particular reform through before the revolution), the abolition of division into social-estates, freedom of movement, and the right for each individual peasant freely to dispose of his land will rapidly and inevitably bring about the removal of the burden of taxation and serf-bondage that the land commune to a three-fourths extent constitutes at the present time. But this result will only prove the correctness of our views on the village commune, prove how incompatible it is with the entire social and economic development of capitalism. The result will by no means follow from any particular measure recommended by us “against the village commune”, for we never have supported and never shall support *a single measure* aimed directly against this or that system of peasant land tenure. Moreover, we shall unreservedly defend the village commune as a democratic organisation of local government, as a co-operative or a neighbours' association, against all encroachments on the part of the bureaucrats—encroachments which find such favour with opponents of the village commune in the camp of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*.[55] We shall never help any one to “destroy the village commune”, but we shall strive absolutely for the abolition of all institutions that run counter to democracy, *irrespective of the effect of this abolition on the basic or partial reallotment of the land, etc.*; that is where we differ fundamentally from the Narodniks—overt and covert, consistent and inconsistent, timid and bold—who, on the one hand, are “of course” democrats, and on the other, fear to resolutely and unequivocally define their attitude towards such elementary democratic demands as full freedom of movement, *complete* abolition of the social-estate nature of the peasant commune, and, *consequently*, utter annulment of collective liability, and abolition of all laws restricting the peasant in the free disposal of his land.*

* This is the touchstone we should apply to the numerous radicals in Russia (and even revolutionaries, of *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*) who in this question are inclined to sit between two stools.

The objection may be raised that, by sanctifying the individual will of each particular peasant, the latter measure will destroy the village commune, not only as a system of land reallotment, etc., but outright, even as a co-operative neighbours' association. Each individual peasant will have the right to demand, despite the will of the majority, that his land be allotted to him as a separate plot. Does this not run counter to the general tendency of all socialists to further the extension rather than the restriction of the right of the collective body over the individual?

To this we reply that it does not at all follow from our formulation that every peasant must necessarily demand that a separate plot of land be allotted to him. What does follow is only liberty to sell the land; moreover, the preferential right of the commune members to purchase land that is being sold does not run counter to this liberty. The annulment of collective liability would turn all members of the peasant commune into free co-owners of a certain plot of land; as to what else they will then make of this plot, that is their business and will depend on common civil law and on whatever special agreements they enter into among themselves. With regard to extending the right of the collective body over the individual, such extension is upheld by the socialists only when it is in the interests of technical and social progress.* In this form, naturally, we too would uphold any appropriate law if only it referred not just to the small property-owners alone, or just to the peasants alone, but in general to *all* those who own land.

X

In conclusion, let us sum up the fundamental principles on which our agrarian programme is based. Anyone who has had occasion to engage in drawing up programmes or enter

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* Kautsky, for instance, considers it correct to demand "the restriction of the rights of private property in land in the interests of 1) demarcation of land holdings, abolishing strip-farming, 2) raising standards of agriculture, 3) preventing epidemics" (*Die Agrarfrage*, S. 437). Demands of this sort, which are fully justified, are not and should not be connected in any way with the peasant commune.

into the details of their drafting in other countries knows that one and the same thought can be formulated in the most diverse ways. What we hold important is that all the comrades to whom we are now submitting our draft for consideration should reach common ground, first and foremost, on the fundamental principles. Then this or that specific feature in the formulation will not be of decisive importance.

We hold that the class struggle is the main factor also in the sphere of agrarian relationships in Russia. We base our entire agrarian policy (and, consequently, our agrarian programme as well) on unswerving recognition of this fact along with all consequences resulting from it. Our principal immediate aim is to clear the way for the free development of the class struggle in the countryside, the class struggle of the proletariat, which is directed towards attainment of the ultimate aim of the international Social-Democratic movement, the conquest of political power by the proletariat, and the laying of the foundations of a socialist society. By declaring the class struggle our guiding line in all "agrarian questions", we resolutely and for all time dissociate ourselves from adherents, so numerous in Russia, of half-hearted and nebulous theories, such as "Narodnik", "ethico-sociological", "critical", social-reformist, and whatever else they may be called!

To clear the way for the free development of the class struggle in the countryside, it is necessary to remove all remnants of serfdom, which now *overlie* the beginnings of capitalist antagonisms among the rural population, and keep them from developing. And we are making a *final* attempt to help the peasantry sweep away all these remnants at a single decisive blow—"final" because developing Russian capitalism is itself spontaneously doing the very same work, is making for the very same goal, but making for it along its own peculiar road of violence and oppression, ruin and starvation. The transition from exploitation by the serf-owners to capitalist exploitation is inevitable, and it would be a harmful and reactionary illusion to attempt to hold it back or to "get round" it. But this transition is also conceivable in the form of the forcible overthrow of those heirs of the serf-owners who, relying on the tradition of the former power of the slaveowner, rather than on the "power of money", are sucking the last

drops of blood from the patriarchal peasantry. This patriarchal peasantry, which lives under a system of natural economy by the labour of its hands, is doomed to disappear, but there is no "necessity" or any "immanent" law of social and economic evolution that dooms it to endure the torment of being "ground down by taxes", of floggings, or a long-drawn out, horribly protracted death by starvation.

And so, without harbouring any illusions about it being possible for the small producers to thrive or even to lead a tolerable existence in a capitalist society (such as Russia is becoming to a greater and greater extent), we demand the complete and unconditional revolutionary and not reformative annulment and eradication of the survivals of serf-ownership; we hold that the lands which the government of the nobility cut off from the peasantry and which to this day still serve to keep the peasants in virtual bondage are peasants' lands. Thus, we take our stand—by way of exception and by reason of the specific historical circumstances—as defenders of small property; but we defend it only in its struggle against what has come down from the "old order", and only on condition that those institutions be abolished which retard the transformation of the patriarchal Oblomov villages,[56] frozen in their immobility, backwardness, and neglect, on condition of the establishment of complete freedom of movement, freedom to dispose of land, and the complete abolition of division into social-estates. We want to supplement democratic revision of the state and civil laws of Russia with democratic, revolutionary revision of the notorious "Peasant Reform".

Guided by these principles of agrarian policy, any Russian Social-Democrat who finds himself in the countryside will be able to see his way in the intricate maze of relationships there, and will be able to "adapt" his strictly consistent revolutionary propaganda and agitation to these relationships. He will not be caught napping by a possible movement in the peasantry (which already seems to have started here and there). He will not then limit himself to those demands on behalf of wage-workers in agriculture which are set forth in detail in the section on the immediate "working-class" demands of our programme, and which, of course, he will advance everywhere and at all times. Among the peasantry too he will be

able to give an impulse to the genera] democratic movement which (if it is destined to pass beyond the embryonic stage in our countryside) will begin with the struggle against the former serf-owners in the countryside, and end in an uprising against that most formidable and foul remnant of the serf-owning system known as the tsarist autocracy.

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P. S. This article was written before the outbreak of the peasant uprisings in the south of Russia in the spring of this year.[57] These events have fully confirmed the principles set forth in this article. As to the tactical tasks which are now presenting themselves more forcibly than ever to our Party in its "rural" work, we hope to deal with them next time.

A LETTER TO THE ZEMSTVOISTS

We quote in full a hectographed letter addressed to Zemstvoists, which passed from hand to hand during the latest session of the Zemstvo Assemblies (it has regrettably only just come into our possession):

"Dear Sir,

"The grave situation in which Russia, the Russian people, and the Russian Zemstvo find themselves today has prompted us to address this letter to you, dear Sir, on the assumption that the ideas and intentions herein expressed will meet with your sympathy.

"The long series of sad and distressing facts of which we have in recent times been silent witnesses weighs like a dark cloud on the public conscience, and every person of education is faced squarely with the fateful question: is it possible to persist in abstaining from political action and by remaining passive contribute to the growing impoverishment and corruption of our native land?

"The chronic crop failures and the intolerable burden of taxation in the form of land redemption payments, non-assessable taxes have literally ruined the people, leading to its physical degeneration.

"The virtual denial to the peasantry of even the faintest semblance of self-government, the petty tutelage of official and self-appointed representatives of 'firm government', and the artificial state of mental starvation in which the people is kept by the uninvited guardians of 'the foundations of Russian tradition and law' are sapping its spiritual powers, its initiative and energy.

"The productive forces of the country are being brazenly plundered by men of business in this country and abroad, with the gracious connivance of adventurers who are gambling with the destinies of our country. In vain is the 'beneficent government' trying to have a series of contradictory and hastily concocted measures take the place of a spirited and systematic struggle carried on by economic groups in the country. Official 'patronage' and 'concern' are impotent in lace of the evil forerunners of Russia's economic and financial bankruptcy: agrarian, industrial, and financial crises—the brilliant results of the policy of chance and gambling. The press is stifled and deprived of any possibility to shed light on at least part of the crimes that are hourly committed by the upholders of law and order, against the freedom and

honour of Russian citizens. Despotism, senseless and cruel, alone raises its voice authoritatively and reigns over the boundless expanses of our ravaged, humiliated, and outraged native land, nowhere meeting with a fitting rebuff.

"With such a state of affairs, the government's systematic mistrust for the slightest manifestation of private or public initiative, the activities of any kind of public associations, and in particular the Zemstvo institutions—which the Russia of the sixties had hoped would prove the corner-stone of a new realm—is quite natural. The triumphant bureaucracy has condemned the Zemstvo institutions to a lingering death, and every year deals a new blow at their activities, their significance and authority in the eyes of society and the people, who scarcely distinguish between the Zemstvo and the bureaucratic administration. The Zemstvo Assemblies have been converted into bureaucratic social-estate councils, despite the clearly expressed protest of all progressive groups in the country, and have lost all connection with the mass of the Russian people. The Zemstvo Boards are becoming annexes to the gubernatorial offices, and, losing in independence, are gradually acquiring all the defects of a government office. The Zemstvo election meetings have been reduced to a veritable farce. The paucity of voters and their division into social-estate groups, while depriving such meetings of the opportunity to serve as a means for the expression, in the persons of the elected councillors, of the various public interests, turn them into a battleground of petty and personal ambitions.

"The range of Zemstvo activities is gradually but steadily being restricted. The Zemstvo has been deprived of jurisdiction in the matter of food supplies. In the matter of assessments the Zemstvo has become the executor of the orders of government officials. In the sphere of public education the role of the Zemstvo has been reduced to practically nil. The Medical Regulations drawn up by the Goremykin Ministry, while not abrogated formally, hang over the Zemstvo medical service like the Sword of Damocles. The dark shadow cast by the government's instructions to the school boards has to all appearances been dissipated. But the Zemstvo is in no way guaranteed against a reappearance of this shadow, this time, however, embodied in the form of a law which would finally destroy the Zemstvo general schools. Contacts between the Zemstvo institutions of the various gubernias, the need for which has become proverbial are confronted with new difficulties in the latest Circular of the Ministry of the Interior on this subject. Every step of the Zemstvo as a public institution comes up against an intricate cobweb of numerous circulars from the various ministers, and the Zemstvoist is obliged to spend no little time, energy and wit on the thankless task of untangling this web, if he wants to give effect to this or that measure. The notorious Article 87 of the Zemstvo Statutes, and particularly its Clause 2, places the whole of Zemstvo activities under the Governor's supervision. Gubernatorial investigations of Zemstvo Boards are becoming ever more frequent; through the permanent members of the Gubernia Board for Zemstvo Affairs, the government is unceremoniously placing the Zemstvo under open surveillance. By enacting a law limiting the right of the

Zemstvo to levy taxes, the government openly admits its extreme mistrust of the fundamental right of the Zemstvo—the right to impose local taxes. Owing to the interference of the Police Department, the best Zemstvo officials, both elected and employed, are forcibly torn away from Zemstvo activities. In the near future, the ministerial projects of control of the Zemstvo's financial operations to be exercised by officials of the State Control Board and of the regulation of the activity of the Zemstvo Advisory Commissions will probably be made law.

"Not only are Zemstvo petitions being turned down, but they are not even given consideration in accordance with the procedure established for such cases and are casually rejected by the ministers on their own authority. Under such conditions, it has become impossible to work in the Zemstvo with an earnest belief in the fruitfulness of that work. And we are now witnessing a process of constantly increasing impoverishment of the Zemstvo forces and in particular of the Zemstvo executive bodies—the Boards. People who are ardently devoted to the Zemstvo cause are leaving the Zemstvo, having lost faith in the efficacy of the work under the present conditions. And their places are being taken by Zemstvoists of a new type, by opportunists who tremble in cowardly fashion for the good name, the outward form of the Zemstvo institutions, and who disgrace the latter by crawling and grovelling to the administration. The result is an internal corruption of the Zemstvo that is far worse than a formal abolition of self-government. The government's open campaign against the Zemstvo idea itself might lead to widespread public indignation, which the bureaucrats fear so greatly. But before our very eyes a camouflaged destruction of the principle of self-government is taking place and, unfortunately, is not meeting with organised resistance.

"With such a state of affairs, the comparative insignificance of the material results of Zemstvo activities is by no means compensated by its educational significance, and the almost forty years of work on the part of the Zemstvo institutions directed towards developing civic spirit, social consciousness, and initiative may be lost without a trace for the immediate future. From this standpoint, the meek and humble marking of time by the opportunist Zemstvoists only facilitates the inglorious and futile death of the great idea of the Zemstvo institutions. The only possible way to lead the Zemstvos out of the impasse into which they have been led by the system of tutelage is to fight energetically against the absurd idea that a consideration of questions going beyond the bounds of the minor details of local life is fraught with national disaster. This bugbear, which, of course, threatens no danger to the people or the security of the state, this idea, the absurdity of which is cynically acknowledged by its supporters (see Witte's confidential memorandum, 'The Autocracy and the Zemstvo'), must be combated by the Zemstvo through open and bold consideration in the Zemstvo Assemblies of questions of national importance which are closely bound up with the needs and interests of the local population. And the more comprehensively, the more fully and energetically the Zemstvo Assemblies consider questions of this kind, the more clearly will it be disclosed that public consideration of evils affecting the people does not threaten the people with disaster, but on the

contrary, averts it, that the muzzle which has at present been placed on the press is of benefit only to the enemies of the people, that police rule over word and thought cannot create honest citizens, and that law and freedom are not incompatible with each other. Public discussion of all such questions in several Gubernia Zemstvo Assemblies simultaneously will undoubtedly meet with the greatest sympathy on the part of all sections of the people and rouse the public conscience to energetic activity. If, however, the Zemstvo fails to react in any way to the present critical condition of Russia, then of course Messrs. the Sipyagins and Wittes, after having deprived the Zemstvo of its role of representative of the interests of labour, will not hesitate to bring it into final 'conformity' with the general structure of the institutions of the Empire. What forms this 'conformity' will take, we, who know the shrewdness and resourcefulness of the country's present rulers, are decidedly at a loss to imagine. After all, the Minister of the Interior had sufficient effrontery, and displayed amazing contempt for the 'pre-eminent' social-estate of the Empire in investing its chosen representatives—the Marshals of the Nobility—with the despicable role of spies, whose duty was to keep the lecturers and the content of popular lectures under surveillance.

"For the reasons outlined above, we are of the opinion that our inactivity and further meek resignation to all the experiments to which the bureaucracy is subjecting the Zemstvo and all Russia constitute, not only a form of suicide, but a grave crime against our native land. How groundless, how insensate are the tactics of opportunism—the sale of one's 'birthright' for a 'mess of pottage'—has been shown us sufficiently clearly by life: the autocratic bureaucracy, having first appropriated our birthright, has now also taken away from us the 'mess of pottage'. Step by step we have been deprived of almost all our civic rights; the forty years that have elapsed since the inception of the 'great reforms' have brought us back to the same point from which we departed forty years ago when we embarked on those reforms. Have we much to lose now? how can we justify continued silence on our part? how can it be explained except by shameful cowardice and an utter lack of all sense of civic duty?

"As Russian citizens, and moreover Russian citizens in 'high positions', we are in duty bound to defend the rights of the Russian people, in duty bound to give a fitting reply to the autocratic bureaucracy which is striving to crush the slightest manifestation of liberty and independence in public life and to make abject slaves of the whole Russian people. As Zemstvoists, we are especially obliged to uphold the rights of the Zemstvo institutions, defend them against the arbitrariness and despotism of the bureaucracy, and uphold their right to independence and the satisfaction in the broadest way of the needs of all sections of the people.

"Let us then cease to be silent in the manner of school children guilty of some misdemeanour; let us at last show that we are adult citizens and let us demand what is our due—the claim to our 'birthright', our civic rights.

"The autocratic bureaucracy never grants anything voluntarily but only what it is compelled to grant, although it then tries to make

a show of ceding its 'rights' solely out of magnanimity. If it happens to grant more than it was compelled to, it immediately withdraws all superfluous concessions, as was the case with our 'great reforms'. The government showed no concern for the workers until it was faced with a serious 'labour movement' in the form of demonstrations of many thousands of workers; it thereupon hastened to enact 'labour legislation', which, although sufficiently hypocritical, was nevertheless designed to meet at least some of the demands of the workers and to pacify these formidable masses. For decades the government crippled our students, our sisters, brothers and children, by forbidding the slightest criticism of the 'educational system' it had devised, and savagely suppressing student 'disorders'.

"But no sooner had these 'disorders' turned into a mass strike, than the academic machine came to a standstill, and the bureaucracy was suddenly imbued with an ardent feeling of 'cordial concern' for the student youth; and those very demands to which only yesterday the sole reply was the crack of Cossack whips are today proclaimed a government programme for the 'reform of education'.

"Of course, there is no small dose of hypocrisy in this metamorphosis too, and yet.... Yet there can be no doubt of the fact that the 'bureaucracy' has been compelled openly to recognise and make a fairly substantial concession to public opinion. And we, like the whole of Russian society, like the whole of the Russian people, can count on the recognition and realisation of our rights only if we boldly, openly, concertedly, and persistently demand these rights.

"In view of all these considerations, we have decided to address the present letter to you, dear Sir, and to many other members of the gubernia Zemstvos, with the appeal to help the present session of Gubernia Zemstvo Assemblies raise, discuss, and adopt corresponding decisions on the following questions:

"1. Reconsideration of the Statutes on Zemstvo Institutions and their amendment along the following lines:

"a) the granting of equal suffrage to all groups of the population, without distinction of social-estates, and with a considerable lowering of the property qualification; b) the removal from the Zemstvo of members representing social-estates as such; c) the Zemstvo to be freed in all its activities from the tutelage of the administration, and to be granted complete independence in all local affairs, on condition that it submits to the laws of the country on the same basis as all other persons and institutions; d) the jurisdiction of the Zemstvo to be extended by granting it complete independence in attending to all local interests and requirements insofar as they do not infringe on general state interests; e) the repeal of the law limiting the right of the Zemstvo to levy taxes; f) the Zemstvo to be granted the broadest rights in the matter of spreading public education in every possible way; moreover, the Zemstvo to be granted the right to supervise and improve the educational as well as the economic aspect of this matter; g) the abrogation of the above-mentioned Medical Regulations, which threaten the Zemstvo medical service; h) food supply matters to be

put back into the hands of the Zemstvo, the latter also to be granted complete independence in the organisation and conduct of its statistical and assessment work; i) all Zemstvo business to be conducted exclusively by elected Zemstvo people, who shall not be subject to endorsement by the administration, still less be appointed against the will of the Zemstvo Assemblies; j) the Zemstvo to be granted the right to employ people exclusively at their own discretion without endorsement by the administration; k) the Zemstvo to be granted the right freely to discuss all questions affecting the state as a whole if they bear on local interests and requirements, in addition to which all petitions of the Zemstvo shall be considered without fail by higher government institutions within a definitely designated period of time; l) all Zemstvos to be granted the right to communicate with one another as well as to arrange congresses of Zemstvo representatives to consider questions concerning all or several Zemstvos.

"II. Reconsideration and amendment of the Statutes on the Peasantry with a view to granting them complete equality of rights with the other social-estates.

"III. Revision of the taxation system with a view to equalising the burden of taxation through progressive taxes on income derived from property, and provided that certain minimum incomes be exempted from taxation.

"It is likewise highly desirable that the following points be raised and considered in the Zemstvo Assemblies:

"IV. The re-establishment everywhere of courts conducted by Justices of the Peace, as well as the repeal of all laws restricting the competence of trial by jury.

"V. The granting of greater freedom of the press; the necessity of abolishing preliminary censorship; the revision of the censorship regulations so as to indicate definitely and explicitly what may and what may not be published; the prohibition of arbitrary action by the administrative authorities in censorship matters, and the trying of all cases of press law violations exclusively in open session of the general courts.

"VI. Revision of existing laws and ministerial edicts concerning measures to protect the security of the state; the elimination, in this sphere, of secret 'judgement' by the administrative authorities, and open trial of all cases of this kind by general court procedure.

"Trusting that you will not refuse to assist in raising in your Gubernia Zemstvo Assembly the general questions herein indicated, we have the honour to request you to inform all Zemstvos as far as possible, through councillors whom you know personally or who are known to you, of any eventual decision of the Zemstvo Assembly. We likewise hope that in most Zemstvos there will be a sufficient number of bold and enterprising people who will succeed in getting the Zemstvo Assemblies to adopt these demands. If we all present our just demands concertedly, openly, and unequivocally, the bureaucracy will be compelled to yield, as it always does when it encounters a rallied and enlightened force.

"*Old Zemstvoists*."

This is a very instructive letter, which shows how life itself is forcing even people who are little capable of struggle and who are most of all absorbed in practical routine to act *against* the autocratic government. And if this letter is compared, for instance, with such writings as Mr. R.N.S.'s foreword to the Witte Memorandum,[58] the former, in my opinion, makes the better impression.

True, there are no "broad" political generalisations in the letter—but then its authors are not making "programmatic" declarations, but giving modest advice as to how to begin agitation *in practice*. They have not indulged in "flights of fancy" to the extent of speaking directly about political liberty, but then neither have they indulged in phrase-mongering about persons close to the throne who could possibly influence the tsar. Nor do they falsely extol the "acts" of Alexander II, but, on the contrary, there is derision of the "great reforms" (in quotation marks). They find in themselves the frankness and courage to rise resolutely against the "Zemstvo opportunists", without fear of declaring war on the "shameful cowardice", and without currying favour with the particularly backward liberals.

We do not yet know what success has attended the appeal of the old Zemstvoists, but at any rate we think that their initiative deserves full support. The recent revival of the Zemstvo movement is in general an extremely interesting phenomenon. The authors of the letter themselves mention how the movement has spread: started by the workers, it has extended to the students and is now being taken up by Zemstvoists. All these three social elements are thus arranging themselves in proper succession in accordance with the diminishing order of their numerical strength, public alertness, social and political radicalism, and revolutionary determination.

So much the worse for our enemy. The less revolutionary the elements that rise up against him, the better it is for us, unreserved opponents of the autocracy and of the existing economic system as a whole.

Let us convey our greetings to the new protesters and, consequently, to our new allies. Let us help them.

You can see that they are poor; they can only put out a small leaflet, issued in a worse form than the leaflets

of the workers and students. We are rich. We shall publish it in printed form. We shall give publicity to this new slap in the face to the Obmanov tsars. This slap in the face is all the more remarkable, the more "respectable" the people are who deal it.

You can see that they are weak; they have so little contact with the people that their letter passes from hand to hand as if it were actually a copy of a private letter. We are strong. We can and must circulate this letter "among the people", and primarily among the proletariat, which is prepared for and has already commenced the struggle for the freedom of the whole people.

You can see that they are timid; they are only just beginning to extend the scope of their pure Zemstvo agitation. We are bolder than they are; our workers have already gone through the "stage" (a stage that was forced on them) of economic agitation alone. Let us set them an example of how to fight. For if the workers fought for a demand like the annulment of the "Provisional Rules", in order to voice a protest against the autocracy, then the violation by the administration of even the faintest trace of what is nonetheless "*self-government*" may constitute no less important ground!

But here we are stopped short by all sorts of supporters of "economism", overt and covert, conscious and unconscious. Who needs this support of the Zemstvoists by the workers? they ask us. Is it not the Zemstvoists alone? Is it not people who are perhaps dissatisfied only because the government favours the industrial capitalists more than the agricultural? Is it not the bourgeoisie alone, whose desires go no further than "the spirited struggle of the economic groups of the country"?

Who needs it? Well, first of all, and more than all, the *working class itself*. This "only really revolutionary class" of present-day society would not be a revolutionary class indeed, if it did not take advantage of *every* occasion for dealing a new blow at its bitterest enemy. And the words about political agitation and political struggle in our statements and programmes would be hollow sounds if we let slip the favourable opportunities for struggle that present themselves when even former allies of this enemy (the men

of the sixties) and in part also his present allies (the opportunist Zemstvoists and feudal-minded landlords) are beginning to quarrel with him.

Let us then carefully follow Zemstvo developments, the rise and spread (or fall and ebb) of the new wave of protests. Let us try to acquaint the working class more fully with the history of the Zemstvo, with the government's concessions to society in the sixties, with the lying speeches of the tsars and their tactics: first to grant a "mess of pottage" instead of the "birthright"—and then (on the basis of this retention of the "birthright") to take away the mess of pottage itself. Let the workers learn to see through these old police tactics in all their manifestations. Such discernment is also indispensable in our struggle for our "birthright", for the freedom of the proletariat to wage a struggle against *all* economic and social oppression. Let us tell the workers in the study circles about the Zemstvo and its attitude to the government; let us issue leaflets on the Zemstvo protests; let us work in such a way that to every insult the tsarist government offers to any Zemstvo that is at all honest the proletariat will be able to reply with demonstrations against the high-handed governors, the bashi-bazouk gendarmes, and the Jesuit censors. The party of the proletariat must learn to denounce and stigmatise *every* servant of the autocracy for *every* outrage and violence directed against any section of society, any nation or race.

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ON THE *BORBA* GROUP

K. N. You ask what the *Borba* group is. We know that several of its members have contributed to *Zarya* (two articles) and *Iskra* (3 reports, 2 articles and 1 commentary). Several articles they sent us were not published. They have now published a printed "declaration", complaining of our "undemocratic" attitude and campaigning even ... against a *Personencultus**! As a man of experience you will grasp what is at the bottom of it all from this one unparalleled and peerless word. And when *Borba* publishes its article against *Where to Begin?* about the rejection of which they also speak in the declaration—then even comrades who are absolutely inexperienced in Party affairs will understand why we did not receive these contributors with open arms.

As for "democracy", see *What Is to Be Done?*, IV, e)**: what is stated there about *Rabocheye Dyelo* applies to *Borba* as well.

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A LETTER TO THE NORTHERN LEAGUE[59]

A Letter of N.N. to the N.L.
(Comments on the Programme of the N.L.)

First of all, it is necessary to note the principal defect of the "programme" in respect of *form*, namely, that it lumps together the fundamental principles of scientific socialism with the narrow, concrete tasks, not only of a particular moment, but even of a particular locality. This defect becomes at once apparent even from a glance at the contents of the fifteen paragraphs of the programme. Let us do that.

§ 1—aim of the working-class movement in general.
§ 2—the principal condition for achieving this aim.
§ 3—immediate political task of Russian Social-Democracy.
§ 4—attitude of Russian Social-Democracy to the liberals, etc.
§ 5—ditto.
§ 6—the concepts of "class" and "party" (a particular difference of opinion with the "economists").
§ 7—practical tasks of agitation.
§ 8—significance of propaganda.
§ 9—demonstrations and manifestations.
§ 10—May Day celebrations.
§ 11—leaflets and demonstrations on February 19.[60]
§ 12—economic struggle and social reforms.
§ 13—the necessity of an offensive as well as of a defensive struggle of the working class.
§ 14—active, not merely passive, role in strikes.
§ 15—strikes as the best means of struggle.

It will easily be seen that these paragraphs, which deal with such varied matters, should have been divided up

into separate sections (otherwise it may give rise to considerable misunderstandings among people unable to distinguish between fundamental principles and the practical tasks of the moment). It is not only inept but even utterly incorrect and ambiguous to place side by side a statement of the ultimate aim of socialism and a discussion with the "economists", or a definition of the importance of strikes. What the Northern League should have done was first to make a clear statement of principle with regard to its convictions in general, then to define the political tasks of the Party as the Northern League understands them, and, thirdly, to separate from these strictly programmatic theses the *resolutions* of the organisation (the Northern League) on the problems of the practical movement (§§ 7-11 and 13-15). A separate point should have been made of § 6, which defines the attitude of the Northern League to the differences of opinion among Russian Social-Democrats, while § 12 should have been included in the statement of principle (since the relation of the current struggle for petty improvements and reforms to the struggle for the ultimate aim is a general and not a specifically Russian question).

After this general remark, I shall now proceed to analyse the individual paragraphs:

§ 1 outlines the general aims of Social-Democracy as a whole. These aims are stated extremely briefly and disjointedly. True, the programme of a local organisation ought not to go into details, which are *indispensable* for the programme of a party. Fully realising this and considering that it was a very useful and important decision on the part of the Northern League not to keep silent about the fundamental principles of Social-Democracy even in a programme of a local organisation, I would in that case deem it necessary only to add a statement outlining the fundamental principles in greater detail. In other words, it should have been indicated, for instance, that the Northern League bases itself on *international* scientific socialism (the international character of the movement is not indicated anywhere in the programme), and subscribes to the theory of "revolutionary Marxism". In addition to this *general* statement of its principles, it would be possible to add a proposition like § 1, but by itself it (§ 1) is not sufficient.

As an organisation affiliated to the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the Northern League should have declared its solidarity with the "Manifesto" of this Party; moreover, it would have been also useful to point to the solidarity of the Northern League at least with the draft programme of the Russian Social-Democrats prepared in the eighties by the Emancipation of Labour group. Such a statement, while leaving open the question of the modifications this draft requires, would more accurately define the Northern League's stand in matters of principle. Here is the alternative: *either* you must yourselves draw up a *complete* account of all the fundamental principles of Social-Democracy (i.e., draw up the theoretical section of the Social-Democratic programme yourselves), or you must declare quite definitely that the Northern League *subscribes* to more or less well-known and established principles. The third way, the one chosen by the programme—to indicate the ultimate aim in an utterly disjointed manner—will not do.

§ 2 begins with an extremely inaccurate, ambiguous, and dangerous statement: "considering socialism to be the class interest of the proletariat". These words identify, as it were, socialism with the "class interest of the proletariat". And this identification is *absolutely incorrect*. Precisely at the present time, when an *exceedingly narrow* conception of the "class interests of the proletariat" has become extremely widespread, it is quite impermissible to present a formulation which, if it can be somehow acceptable, will be accepted only if the expression "class interest" is understood in an *extremely broad* sense. "Class interest" impels the proletarians to unite, to fight against the capitalists, to think about the prerequisites of their emancipation. "Class interest" makes them receptive to socialism. But socialism, as the ideology of the class struggle of the proletariat, is subject to the general conditions governing the inception, development, and consolidation of an ideology; in other words, it is founded on the sum-total of human knowledge, presupposes a high level of scientific development, demands scientific work, etc., etc. Socialism is *introduced* by the ideologists into the proletarian class struggle, which develops spontaneously on the basis of capitalist relationships. The formulation of § 2,

however, throws an altogether false light on the real relation of socialism to the class struggle. Moreover, § 2 does not speak of the class struggle. That is its second defect.

§ 3 defines absolutism inadequately (for example, it does not point to its connection with remnants of the serf-owning system), in places bombastically ("boundless") and vaguely ("ignoring" the *individual*). Further, the conquest of political liberty (it should have been noted that the Northern League sets this task to the *whole Party*) is essential, *not only* for the full development of the workers' class struggle; in one way or another it should have been pointed out that it is also essential in the interests of all social development.

"The autocracy represents the interests of the ruling classes exclusively." This is inaccurate, or wrong. The autocracy satisfies *certain* interests of the ruling classes, maintaining itself partly by the inertness of the mass of the peasantry and the small producers in general, partly by balancing between conflicting interests, and constituting, to a certain extent, an independent organised political force. The wording of § 3 is especially impermissible in view of the fact that the absurd identification of the Russian autocracy with the rule of the bourgeoisie is extremely widespread in our country.

"Incompatible with the principle of democracy." What is the point of this when nothing has as yet been said about democracy? And does not the demand for the overthrow of the autocracy and the winning of political liberty express precisely the "principle" of democracy? This phrase will not do. Instead it should have been pointed out more precisely how consistent and *determined* we are (in comparison with the bourgeois democrats) in our understanding of the "principle of democracy"—for example, by describing in one way or another the idea *and content* of a "democratic constitution" or proclaiming our demand for a *democratic republic* as a matter of "principle".

§ 4 is especially unsatisfactory. Instead of speaking about the "full" utilisation of "broad" liberty (as a matter of fact, this is just vague phrase-mongering, which could very well be replaced, and should be, by definite reference to a democratic republic and a democratic constitution,

for "full" utilisation means consistent democracy)—instead of this, it was *imperative* to state that it is *not only* the working class that is interested in political liberty. Silence on this score is tantamount to opening the door wide to the worst forms of "economism", and to forgetting our general *democratic* tasks.

It is *absolutely wrong* to say that the realisation (?? attainment, conquest) of political liberty is "just as" necessary to the proletariat as higher wages and a shorter working day. This is just what it is *n o t*, for *this* is a necessity of a *different* and *f a r m o r e c o m p l e x* order than the necessity for wage increases, etc. The difference between the two "necessities" may also be clearly seen from the fact, for instance, that the autocracy is prepared to grant (*and actually does occasionally grant*) improved conditions to individual sections or groups of the working class *if only* these sections will make their peace with absolutism. The sentence under analysis is absolutely impermissible, reflecting as it does an incredible vulgarisation of "economic" materialism, and debasement of Social-Democratic understanding to the level of sheer trade-unionism.

Further. "In view of this" ... should be deleted *in view of* what has been stated above ... "in the impending struggle" ... (i.e., evidently the struggle against tsarism?) ... "the Social-Democrats should come forward with a definite class programme and demands...." The *class* nature of our *political* programme and *political* demands is expressed precisely in the fact that they stand for complete and consistent democracy. If, however, one speaks about our entire programme in general, and not only about political demands, then its class nature should follow of itself from the very content of our programme. There is no point in speaking of a "*definite*" class programme; you yourselves must *define*, expound, express and formulate this class programme explicitly and with precision.

"... Without subordination to the liberal programme...." This is simply ludicrous. We come forward as the foremost democratic party, and suddenly make the reservation that we do "not subordinate"!! Like children who have just been freed from "subordination"!

Our "insubordination" to the liberals should be expressed, not in phrases about insubordination, but in the whole nature of our programme (*and*, *of course*, *of our activity*). It is precisely that conception of political tasks which identifies (or at least equates) the necessity for liberty with the necessity for wage increases, that *e x p r e s s e s subordination of Social-Democracy to the liberals.*

The end of § 4 will not do either; it is criticised in all that has been said above.

§ 5 reduces our general attitude towards all democracy in general to mere collaboration with other parties in practical matters. That is too narrow. If such parties exist, they should have been named concretely (not in the programme, but in a special resolution of the congress), and the attitude towards the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the *Svoboda* group, etc., should have been explicitly defined. If, however, it is a question, not of definite parties, but of the attitude towards other revolutionary (*and opposition*) trends in general, then the wording should have been expanded, in one way or another repeating the thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* about our support of every revolutionary movement against the existing system.[61]

§ 6 is out of place in the programme. It should have been transferred to a separate resolution and should have stated *openly* that it deals with the differences of opinion (or two trends) within the Russian Social-Democratic movement. This is more than "numerous misunderstandings". The formulation of the differences of opinion is too narrow, for they *are far from being limited* to the confusion of class with party. There should have been a corresponding statement coming out resolutely and definitely against the "critics of Marxism", "economism", and limitation of our political tasks.

As to the second part of § 6, since it is *elucidated* in other paragraphs (7, 14, and others), a criticism of it is given in the comments on these paragraphs.

§ 7, like all that follows (with the exception of § 12), should go into a separate resolution, but should not be a direct part of the *programme.*

§ 7 formulates the "task" of the League's activity in a limited way. We must not only "develop the class-consciousness of the proletariat", but also *organise* the latter into

a political party—and then *direct* its struggle (both economic and political).

The statement that the proletariat finds itself in "definite, concrete conditions" is superfluous. It should either be omitted or these conditions should be *defined* (but this should be done elsewhere in the programme).

It is wrong to say that agitation is the "only" means of achieving our tasks. It is far from being the only means.

It is inadequate to define agitation as "influence over broad sections of the workers". The nature of this influence should be indicated. It is necessary to speak about *political* agitation more directly, resolutely, definitely and in greater detail: otherwise, by keeping silent about political agitation as such and devoting two whole paragraphs (14 and 15) to economic agitation, the programme strays (unintentionally) into "economism". Special emphasis should have been placed on the necessity for agitation about *all* manifestations of political and economic, social and national oppression, *irrespective of the class or section of the population affected by that oppression*—the necessity (for Social-Democrats) to be in the forefront in all clashes with the government, and so on—and only then should the means of agitation (oral agitation, newspapers, leaflets, manifestations, etc., etc.) have been indicated.

§ 8 begins with superfluous repetition.

"Recognises propaganda *only* to the extent", etc. This is incorrect. Propaganda does not only have this significance; it is not only a means of "training agitators", but also a means of spreading class-consciousness in general. The programme goes to the other extreme. If it was necessary to come out against propaganda which some people divorce too much from the tasks of agitation, it would have been better to say: "in propaganda it is *particularly* necessary not to lose sight of the task of training agitators", or something to that effect. But *all* propaganda should not be reduced to the training of "experienced and capable agitators", and the "training of only individual class-conscious workers" should not be simply "rejected". We consider this inadequate, but we do not "reject" it. And the latter part of § 8 (from: "our attitude being one of rejection") should therefore be deleted altogether.

§ 9. I fully agree with this paragraph in essence. Perhaps "in connection with the *most* varied events in public life and government measures..." should have been added.

Instead of "the best means", it would be more accurate to say: "one of the best means".

Only the end of this paragraph is unsatisfactory. Demonstrations and manifestations unite, and should unite, *not only* the workers (moreover, to say "unites" through manifestations is *in*sufficient, since we also want to unite organisationally, directly and for all time, and not only for one particular occasion). "... *Thereby* developing in them...." This is either inaccurate—class-consciousness cannot be developed by manifestations *alone*—or superfluous (it has already been said that it is one of the best means).

It would be useful to add something about the need to *organise* manifestations, about their preparation, conduct, etc.

In general, the absence in the programme of any reference to the necessity of devoting great attention to the matter of *revolutionary organisation*, in particular to setting up an all-Russia, militant organisation, is a *great deficiency*. Once reference is made to agitation, propaganda, strikes, and the like, it is quite inexcusable to say nothing *about revolutionary organisation.*

§ 10. It should have been added that in our country May Day must also become a demonstration *against the autocracy*, a demand for political liberty. Pointing to the international significance of the holiday is not enough. It must also be linked up with the struggle for the most vital *national* political demands.

§ 11. A very good idea, but expressed too restrictedly. Perhaps the words "among other things" should have been inserted, since demonstrations should be organised on the anniversary of the Commune as well, and on many other occasions; or "in particular" should have been inserted or else the impression may be created that demonstrations on other occasions are not necessary.

Further. It is wrong to appeal on February 19 (in leaflets) *only* to the workers. Apart from the fact that in general we always appeal to the entire people and even to the whole world in our demonstrations an in the leaflets issued

in connection with them, on February 19 in particular appeals should be addressed also to the *peasantry*. And if we are to appeal to the peasantry, that means we must draw up a Social-Democratic policy on the agrarian question. The programme does not touch on this question, and we quite understand that a local organisation may perhaps lack the time or the forces to deal with this. Nevertheless, it should certainly have at least been mentioned, in one way or another, in connection with one attempt or another to tackle it in Social-Democratic literature and in the practical activities of our movement.*

The end of § 11 will not do ("only *class* force"—which class? The working class alone?). Should have been deleted.

§ 12. We neither can nor will help "in every way" to improve the conditions of the workers under the present circumstances. For instance, we cannot help in the Zubatov[62] fashion, and even if Zubatov corruption is involved we shall not do that. We fight only for such improvement of the workers' conditions as will *raise* their capacity to wage the class struggle, i.e., when the improvement of conditions is *not bound up* with corruption of political consciousness, with police tutelage, with being tied down to a given locality, with subjugation to a "benefactor", with a lowering of human dignity, etc., etc. Precisely in Russia, where the autocracy is so much inclined (and is becoming more and more inclined) to *buy itself off* from revolution with various hand-outs and sham reforms, it is our duty to draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and all sorts of "reformers". We also fight for reforms, but by no means "in every way"; we fight for reforms *only* in Social-Democratic fashion, only in a revolutionary way.

§ 13 is omitted by decision of the congress. And it should have been omitted.

§ 14 formulates the content and the tasks of economic agitation in too narrow a way. The latter is not confined to strikes alone. We need "better conditions", not only for the cultural development of the proletariat, but particularly for its revolutionary development. The "active

* For instance, the attempts of the workers to stage demonstrations in connection with floggings of the peasants, etc.

role" of Social-Democrats in strikes does not end with encouraging the struggle *for improvements in economic conditions*. Strikes (like economic agitation in general) should *always* be used to encourage the *revolutionary* struggle for freedom and for socialism as well. Strikes should be used for *political* agitation also.

§ 15 is also most unsatisfactory. Strikes are not the "best" means of struggle, but only *one* of the means, and not always necessarily one of the best means. We must recognise the importance of strikes, make use of them and lead them at all times—but it would be all the more dangerous to exaggerate their importance, the more this has been done by the "economists".

What is said further about strikes is redundant: it has already been stated in § 14. A reference to leadership of the economic struggle in general would have been sufficient. This leadership may sometimes consist in deterring from strike action. The programme expresses itself in too absolute a fashion, and for this very reason too restrictedly. The programme should have spoken about the task in general, that of leading the economic struggle of the proletariat, of making it more organised and conscious, of organising workers' trade unions and endeavouring to develop them into all-Russia organisations, of utilising every strike, every manifestation of economic oppression, etc., for the most widespread socialist and revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The end of § 15 *limits* the tasks of this agitation, making the use of political agitation depend, as it were, on action by the police, etc. Actually, however, we must try to use political agitation (and this is quite possible if the leaders are at all capable) *before* action by these "archangels", and *irrespective* of that action. It should have been formulated more generally: "to take advantage of all and every opportunity for political agitation", etc.

The end of § 15 is also incorrect. It is the less fitting for us to speak of "general strikes", the less opportunity we in Russia have of *preparing* them. And, in general, there is no reason for speaking *specially* about "general" strikes in programmes (remember the absurd "general strike" in the pamphlet *Who Will Carry Out the Political Revolution?*[63] After all, such misunderstandings are also possible). To

declare that strikes are "the best means of developing *class-consciousness*" is also absolutely incorrect.

As a whole, a serious revision of the programme would be highly desirable. In general it would also be desirable for the Northern League to take an active part both in the unification of *revolutionary* Social-Democracy in a *party* and in the preparation of the Party programme. For their part, the editors of *Zarya* and *Iskra* hope soon to acquaint the Northern League with their draft (most of which is already completed), and trust that the Northern League will co-operate in amending and circulating this draft and in preparing it for adoption by the entire Party.

N. N.

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WHY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS MUST DECLARE A DETERMINED AND RELENTLESS WAR ON THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES

1) Because that trend in our social thought which goes by the name of "Socialist-Revolutionary" is in fact moving away, and has indeed moved away, from the only international theory of revolutionary socialism existing today, i.e., from Marxism. In the great split of international Social-Democracy into an opportunist wing (or, "Bernsteinian") and a revolutionary wing, this trend has taken up an entirely indefinite and impermissibly irresolute position between two stools. Basing itself solely on the bourgeois and opportunist criticism of Marxism, it has pronounced the latter to have been "shaken" (*Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*, No. 2, p. 62), and promised, on its part, to "revise" Marxism anew, in its own way, but has done nothing whatever to fulfil this ominous promise.

2) Because the Socialist-Revolutionary trend helplessly yields to the dominant tendency in Russian social and political thought which should be termed liberal Narodism. Repeating the error of the Narodnaya Volya and of old Russian socialism in general, the Socialist-Revolutionaries fail to see the sheer flabbiness and internal contradictions of this tendency; their independent creative contribution to Russian revolutionary thought is restricted to tacking revolutionary phrases on to the old testament of liberal Narodnik wisdom. Russian Marxism was the first to undermine the theoretical foundations of liberal Narodism, to lay bare its bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class content, and to have waged and continue to wage war against it, undeterred by the desertion of a swarm of critical (=opportunist) Marxists to the enemy camp. But the stand the Socialist-Revolutionaries have been holding in this war is (*at best*) one of hostile neutrality; here again they

have seated themselves between two stools, between Russian Marxism (from which they have borrowed only a few paltry shreds) and quasi-socialist liberal Narodism.

3) Because the Socialist-Revolutionaries, owing to their above-mentioned complete lack of principle in questions of international and Russian socialism, do not understand or do not recognise the only really revolutionary principle, that of the *class struggle*. They do not understand that only a party which *fuses* socialism with the *Russian working-class movement* being engendered with increasing force and of an increasing scale by the growth of Russian capitalism can be really revolutionary and truly socialist in Russia today. The attitude of the Socialist-Revolutionaries towards the Russian working-class movement has always been that of dilettante spectators, and when, for instance, that movement contracted the illness of "economism" (as a consequence of its amazingly rapid growth) the Socialist-Revolutionaries, on the one hand, gloated over the mistakes made by people who were working at the new and difficult task of rousing the masses of the workers, and, on the other hand, put a spoke in the wheel of revolutionary Marxism when it launched and victoriously carried through the struggle against this "economism". A half-hearted attitude towards the working-class movement inevitably leads in fact to aloofness from it, and owing to this aloofness the Socialist-Revolutionary Party has no social basis whatever. It does not rely upon any social class, for the term class cannot be applied to a group of unstable intellectuals who qualify their vagueness and lack of principle as "broadness".

4) Because by assuming a disdainful attitude towards socialist ideology and seeking to rely simultaneously and in an equal degree upon the intelligentsia, the proletariat, and the peasantry, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party thereby inevitably (whether it wants to or not) leads to the political and ideological enslavement of the Russian proletariat by Russian bourgeois democracy. A disdainful attitude towards theory, evasiveness, and shilly-shallying with regard to socialist ideology inevitably play into the hands of bourgeois ideology. As social strata *comparable* with the proletariat, the Russian intelligentsia and

the Russian peasantry can serve as the mainstay only of a *bourgeois-democratic* movement. This is not only a consideration that stems necessarily from our teachings as a whole (which regard the small producer, for instance, as revolutionary only to the extent that he makes a clean break with the society of commodity economy and capitalism and places himself at the standpoint of the proletariat)—no, it is also an absolute fact which is already beginning to make itself felt. At the moment of the political revolution and on the day after this-revolution, this fact will inevitably make itself felt with still greater force. Socialist-Revolutionarism is one of the manifestations of petty-bourgeois ideological instability and petty-bourgeois vulgarisation of socialism, against which Social-Democracy must and will always wage determined war.

5) Because the practical demands of the programme which the Socialist-Revolutionaries have—I won't say brought forward, but at least—outlined have already quite clearly revealed the enormous harm caused in practice by the unprincipled character of this trend. For example, their agrarian minimum programme as outlined in No. 8 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*[64] (perhaps it would be more correct to say: scattered among the time-worn premises of our Narodism?) in the first place misleads both the peasantry by promising it a "minimum"—socialisation of the land—and the working class by giving it an entirely wrong impression of the true nature of the peasant movement. Such frivolous promises only compromise a revolutionary party in general; in particular they compromise the teaching of scientific socialism concerning the socialisation of all means of production as our ultimate aim. Secondly, by including the support and development of co-operatives in their minimum programme, the Socialist-Revolutionaries completely abandon the ground of revolutionary struggle and degrade their so-called socialism to the level of the most banal petty-bourgeois reformism. Thirdly, by opposing the demand of the Social-Democrats for the abolition of all the medieval fetters that bind our village commune, tie the muzhik to his allotment, deny him freedom of movement, and unavoidably entail his humiliation as member of his social-estate, the Socialist-Revolutionaries have shown

that they have not been able even to safeguard themselves against the *reactionary* doctrines of Russian Narodism.

6) Because the Socialist-Revolutionaries, by including terrorism in their programme and advocating it in its present-day form as a means of political struggle, are thereby doing the most serious harm to the movement, destroying the indissoluble ties between socialist work and the mass of the revolutionary class. No verbal assurances and vows can disprove the unquestionable fact that present-day terrorism, as practised and advocated by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, is *not connected in any way* with work among the masses, for the masses, or together with the masses; that the organisation of terroristic acts by the Party distracts our very scanty organisational forces from their difficult and by no means completed task of organising a revolutionary workers' party; that *in practice* the terrorism of the Socialist-Revolutionaries is nothing else than *single combat*, a method that has been wholly condemned by the experience of history. Even foreign socialists are beginning to become embarrassed by the noisy advocacy of terrorism advanced today by our Socialist-Revolutionaries. Among the masses of the Russian workers this advocacy simply sows harmful illusions, such as the idea that terrorism "compels people to think politically, even against their will" (*Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*, No. 7, p. 4), or that "more effectively than months of verbal propaganda it is capable of changing the views... of thousands of people with regard to the revolutionaries and the meaning [!!] of their activity", or that it is capable of "infusing new strength into the waverers, those discouraged and shocked by the sad outcome of many demonstrations" (*ibid.*), and so on. These harmful illusions can only bring about early disappointment and weaken the work of preparing the masses for the onslaught upon the autocracy.

Written in June-July 1902

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Published according to the manuscript

TWO LETTERS TO I. I. RADCHENKO

I

Dear Friend,

First of all, my heartiest congratulations to you (and your friends) on a tremendous success: the beginning of the reorganisation of the Local Committee.[65] This may become a turning-point for our *whole* movement, and it is therefore of the utmost importance and urgency to carry through this reorganisation *to the end*. Take particular care of yourself, so that you should manage to complete it.

Let me get down to business now. You ask me to help you "with a concrete outline of a plan for local work in connection with all-Russia activities". In order to meet your request immediately, I am for the time being writing to express my personal opinion (so as not to delay matters by having to contact the other members of the Editorial Board, who are at present scattered in different places; they will possibly also send you a few words themselves later). I am not quite sure whether I understand your request correctly. My sources now are: your letter of June 21 and the letter of 2a 3b[66] about the two meetings (you, 2a 3b, and Krasikov) with Vanya (the St. Petersburg League[67]). Judging from these sources (especially the latter), Vanya "now shares our views and frankly acknowledges the demerits of his former stand". Proceeding from this, I shall continue to write, addressing myself both to you and to Vanya, and I leave it entirely to you to decide whether to transmit my letter to Vanya (*and Manya*=the Workers' Organisation[68]) immediately or later, whether to give it in full or with certain amendments, which in case of necessity I

likewise authorise you to make (informing us of all such amendments as far as possible, of course).

Strictly speaking, I am of course unable to give you just now a "concrete outline of a plan for Local work in connection with all-Russia activities": it is impossible for me to do this without a *number of detailed* conferences both with Vanya and with Manya. All that I can offer is an outline of the practical steps that Vanya should take immediately and before all else, once he has become a new Vanya or wants to become so *de facto*. It seems to me that the steps planned by all of you at the second meeting with Vanya (and described in the letter of 2a 3b) are wholly correct. I fully agree that "the first thing to do is openly to declare oneself an adherent of certain views". This is the very thing that must come first, and it can be done only by an *open* declaration.[69] I am fully aware of the fact that most or many of Vanya's comrades (i.e., the committees and their members) are strongly prejudiced against such open declarations or at least are unaccustomed to them. This trait is quite comprehensible from the angle of the stage of the movement that has already been passed and of the mistakes that have already been rejected. But just because Vanya holds such an important position, just because in the past he openly declared his old views, which were decidedly at variance with the *Iskra* views, just because of all this I would particularly earnestly advise the comrades (=Vanya) to overcome this feeling of estrangement and this prejudice. Hitherto our local work has suffered mostly from narrowness and isolation, from the reluctance of the local leaders to tackle *actively* and resolutely the job of working out general Party questions. Then let Vanya, as he comes over to the adherents of revolutionary Social-Democracy, break with this tradition at once and declare *for all to hear* that *these* are his fundamental *theoretical views* and *organisational ideas* and that he himself is now going to fight for the realisation of these ideas, urging all other committees to follow suit. This declaration will be of enormous importance both to Vanya and to the whole of Russia; it will be a big *event* in itself. We need not be afraid of offending Vanya's old friends, who held different views; every shadow of offence will be removed by the very fact

that Vanya *himself* will openly and frankly admit that circumstances and experience have convinced him of the, erroneousness of the former theoretical views, tactical principles, and organisational plans, in one way or another bound up with "economism". There will not be even the semblance of an attack on these old views here, but merely an avowal of *his own* evolution. The frank straightforwardness of this avowal will exert an influence on the *actual* unification of all Russian Social-Democrats and on the full cessation of the "polemics" between them, which will be ten times as great as a hundred protests against the "polemics".

And so, first and foremost, an open and printed declaration (in a local bulletin or in *Iskra*, preferably in both). This step should absolutely not be delayed even for a single week, for *without it* all other steps *may easily* prove futile (arrests, etc.), while *with it* the new road would be established at once.

What should this declaration contain? If Vanya were to ask my comradely advice on this point (*but not before he asked me*, *of course*) I would reply: 1) an express repudiation of his old views (theoretical, tactical, and organisational) with a most general description of these views (in one or two words, if possible). 2) A declaration that he is joining the *Iskra* supporters, subscribes to its theoretical, tactical, and organisational views, and recognises it as the *leading* organ (N.B., the word "leading" does not at all mean that one necessarily has to agree with it in everything. It merely implies solidarity with the *guiding* principles of a certain organ. This declaration is *fully compatible* both with a reference to particular differences, should any exist, and with an intimation that I want the following changes and that I, now an *Iskra* supporter, will strive to *effect* them, and try to get these changes made in *Iskra*). 3) Special emphasis on the demand for the unification or, more accurately, the actual *restoration* of a united all-Russia Social-Democratic Labour Party, *by means of* joint work, which should begin with a rallying about *Iskra* so as to convert it into an instrument of genuinely nation-wide agitation and which (the work) should lead to the creation of a militant all-Russia organisation, capable

of launching a determined onslaught on the autocracy. 4) An acknowledgement (already made, but not yet published by Vanya) of the need to reorganise the structure and functioning of Vanya and Manya (their relationships, etc.), an announcement (so to speak) of a revision of their structure. 5) An acknowledgement of the need for closer links *and fusion* with the Russian *Iskra* organisation[70] so as to accomplish the tasks Vanya and this organisation will henceforth share. 6) The assignment of one or several members (perhaps from Vanya and from Manya, etc.) of the St. Petersburg Committee for the matter of immediately beginning the practical realisation of the above-mentioned task, i.e., *fusion* with *Iskra* and *unification* of the Party.*

Of these six points, the sixth, of course, can by no means be made public, which may likewise be the case with some of the other points as well. The declaration could conclude with an ellipsis, and make the frank reservation that such and such (or "subsequent") points cannot be made public for reasons of secrecy. But I repeat: if Vanya has really come over to our side he should not postpone this declaration for *even a single week.*

It is at such a meeting of delegates from the St. Petersburg Committee with Sonya (the Russian *Iskra* organisation) and with the *Iskra* Editorial Board (abroad) that a really concrete plan will be prepared, not only for the reorganisation of work in St. Petersburg, but also for the actual unification of the Party, the constitution of an Organising Committee to prepare the Second Party Congress, etc., etc., etc.

Further, at your second meeting it was proposed that "before proceeding to carry out the above-mentioned plan [to send delegates abroad in July] a preliminary examination be made of the state of affairs in various areas of our vast fatherland so as to have a basis for discussion at the congress". I consider this decision (I say so quite frankly) a mistake, and I would advise you to abandon it. It means delaying matters and dispersing your forces. Let us first achieve a single objective: let us (we and Vanya) reach

* This (§ 6) has also already been settled de facto at your second meeting: sending comrades abroad for the purpose of coming to a final understanding.

an understanding among ourselves. *This will already be equivalent* to complete solidarity between Vanya and Sonya. And given this solidarity, the *next* practical task (a tour of Russia) will be accomplished by Vanya∓Sonya (+or=?) quite easily. But there is no sense in dispersing our efforts now: first (1) let us finally *convince* Vanya and Manya, then (2) publicly *announce* our standpoint, further (3) come to an immediate understanding with *Iskra* (abroad, where *Iskra* already has a whole file of material on the state of affairs in the various localities of our vast fatherland; don't disdain this file, comrades!) and (4) with Sonya, and only then (5) tour Russia with the express practical aim of the *actual* unification of the work (and the convocation of a general Party congress).

There, if you please, is a "concrete outline of a plan" of immediate practical tasks. If § 2 presents difficulties, § 3 can be moved to first place (this, of course, will entail some delay, but under certain circumstances an unavoidable delay). But both 2 and 3 must be insisted on at all costs. Moreover, it is of the utmost importance that the members of Vanya who are coming here should be invested with the fullest possible powers and that if possible there be two of them rather than one (although this really depends entirely on the local conditions, and of those you are in a better position to judge).

I believe I can conclude with this. Please let me know your opinion as soon as possible: have I understood your request correctly? is my "concrete plan" feasible? etc. I am afraid that things are not yet so good and that Vanya is not yet a full adherent. What is particularly suspicious is that Manya has not yet been given *What Is to Be Done?** It would be a good thing if you could meet with Vanya again *in pleno* (i.e., at a *full* session of the St. Petersburg Committee): this would be of the utmost importance in *accurately establishing* whether there are any opponents, just who they are, and what main points they advance. It would be of equal importance that you meet with Manya directly. You must hasten Vanya's trip here (and it would be good for Manya to come too!) *a s m u c h*

* See present edition, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

as possible and at all costs (have them come *straight* to London; give them the *London* address *without fail* and also Meshcheryakov's Belgian address for all eventualities). If you succeed in doing this, it will already be a great achievement guaranteeing that your work will bear fruit even if you are all arrested now. And don't forget a contingency like that is quite possible, and that it is therefore imperative to accomplish the first real step (declaration, trip) as quickly as possible and without the slightest delay.

If *in fact* Vanya unreservedly becomes *one of us*, then we shall hold the Second Party Congress within a few months and make *Iskra* a fortnightly or even a weekly organ of the Party. Try to convince Vanya that we haven't the slightest intention of distracting him from *local* work, that St. Petersburg is a "locality" which is of *direct* importance to the whole of Russia as well, that the merger of Vanya with Sonya will greatly intensify local work, and will at the same time immediately lift the whole Party out of its semi-spectral state and raise it to the stage not only of reality, but also of a power of prime importance.

Warmly shaking your hand,
Yours,
Lenin

Written before July 3 (16), 1902

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II

Dear Friend,

The news you sent us recently about the release of Vanya's friends—the "allies" (=supporters of *Rabocheye Dyelo*)—again gives rise to some doubts in our mind. Will Vanya hold out now? At all events, put the question to him squarely, get a direct reply, and if it is in the negative make him feel ashamed of himself, using no uncertain language; in any case, let us know immediately how matters stand. If Vanya has again got (or even is about to get) out of our hands, it is all the more imperative that you devote trebled efforts to Manya, if possible to her directly; if not, through your new friends, the conversation with whom you have described to us in such detail and so interestingly.

You should make it your business (if Vanya shows even the *slightest* signs of unreliability or evasiveness) to prepare the St. Petersburg *Iskra*-ists for war on the remnants of "economism". Naturally, there is no need to say anything to them about this war, but all efforts must be put into preparing for it, and as far as possible on both flanks. That is, firstly, try to maintain your established personal relations with our friends in the intellectual half of Vanya, try to see them, influence them, make them feel ashamed, meet the young people among them, and prepare the *Iskra*-ists to break with the waverers. The second flank—the workers—is far more important. Your study circle is excellent vantage-ground, and you must above all see to it that this circle develops, becomes conscious of and gives expression to its hostility towards Vanya. Try to supply this circle with *What Is to Be Done?* and to achieve (judging by your letter, this is not at all difficult) *complete* unanimity; moreover, you must particularly and emphatically stress the

fact that *What Is to Be Done?* is levelled precisely and mainly against just this "St. Petersburg" type of people. Dot your i's in your discussions with them, constantly referring to Vanya as a bad example, an example of what should not be done. I am more than ready to help you in any way I can—for instance, through a series of letters to the circle. First, let this circle become *Iskra*-ist consciously and in full, become consciously and *unreservedly* hostile to all of the old "St. Petersburg truck", to *Rabochaya Mysl*, to *Rabocheye Delo*, and to all shilly-shallying. *Then* (*and only then*) we shall do the following: the declaration you advised Vanya to make and I wrote to you about in detail will be made, in somewhat altered form of course, by the circle, which will raise the "banner of insurrection" against Vanya's "economists", and announce a direct campaign for the purpose of winning all of Manya over to its side.

I do not doubt for a moment that this campaign will end in complete and rapid victory, and I consider that it is not this campaign which constitutes the main difficulty, but the matter of getting people to the point of embarking on an open campaign, of not slipping into compromises with Vanya once more, into making concessions to him, into procrastination, etc. *Absolutely* no compromises whatever, and *ruthless* war against the slightest remnants of "economism" and amateurishness—that, in my opinion, is the task you should set yourself in the circle. Better lose three months, half a year, or even more on preparations, and create a *militant Iskra*-ist circle rather than unite unprepared people with Vanya's diplomats and cunctators.

Make use of the fact that you have a free hand in the circle and pursue your policy resolutely, keeping people who are not entirely with you well at a distance.

If you manage matters in this way, you will be independent of Vanya's waverings and vacillations; you will have *y o u r o w n* foothold. And if you occasionally have to manoeuvre in your dealings with Vanya, you must not resort to the slightest attempt at manoeuvring in the circle, but at all times maintain an attitude of *irreconcilability* towards Vanya there. Your tactics will then be quite simple: if Vanya comes closer to you, pat him on the head, but keep tight hold of the stick in your other

hand, i.e., don't conceal from him the fact that this is not enough, that it is necessary to come over the whole way and come in, and that a little will not satisfy you. If Vanya drifts away, don't let him get away with a single mistake, with a single misstep. It should be one of your main tasks to *fasten* on to each of Vanya's blunders, and make it a subject of merciless exposure and condemnation in the circle (and as far as possible in *Iskra* too from time to time).

In a word, in your relations with Vanya hold steadfastly to the principle: I want peace with you and to that end I am preparing thoroughly for war against you.

A piece of practical advice in conclusion. By nature Vanya is a diplomat and a pedant. He has now raised the question of alterations in the hovel and it is most likely that on the plausible pretext of this "revision of structure" he will drag things out, invent thousands of compromises, etc. Don't fall for this bait. Mercilessly deride love of compiling rules. It is not a matter of rules, and whoever thinks it possible to draw up model rules on the basis of certain tactical and organisational ideas understands absolutely nothing at all and must be thoroughly *hounded* for this lack of understanding. If Vanya imagines that they will discuss the new rules from all angles, rewrite forty paragraphs out of the fifty, and then "to a good feast and the wedding", i.e., that the new work will then begin in accordance with the new rules—if he (as is obvious from everything) imagines this, then it means that he has discarded his old prejudices only in word and that actually he still retains hundreds of stupid ideas against which we must fight and fight again. Castigate pedantry and formalism, and point out that it is not a matter of rules but of 1) coming to an agreement on views, *thinking* them *over thoroughly*, and 2) of *reaching mutual understanding* in the practical work *itself*.

With this as our standpoint, we snap our fingers at your (Vanya's) game of rules and state flatly—who we are, what we want and how we work is something you know, and should know, not only from our publications, but also from personal meetings in Russia and abroad (such meetings are unavoidable in the revolutionary movement). If you do not care to go hand in hand with us, say so outright, don't

hedge, and bear in mind that we will wage a real war against all hedging. Don't imagine that you will be able to conceal your hedging from us behind revisions of rules, and the like. But if you want to go hand in hand with us, get down to work *at once*, and then you will see that this work in connection with an all-Russia newspaper, on the paper and with it as a basis, will itself show what new forms are required, and will probably (and even undoubtedly) show that, given a genuine and live movement, these forms will take shape of themselves, without any rules. And when we are strong, we shall organise meetings and conferences four times a year in Russia and twice abroad (or *vice versa*, depending on circumstances), and all rules will be determined at these conferences (to put it more plainly—we shall send all rules to the devil).

I warmly shake your hand, and I am waiting impatiently for your reply. Do my letters hit the nail on the head, i.e., do they give you what you want?

Yours,
Lenin

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REVOLUTIONARY ADVENTURISM

I

We are living in stormy times, when Russia's history is marching on with seven-league strides, and every year sometimes signifies more than decades of tranquillity. Results of the half-century of the post-Reform period are being summed up, and the corner-stone is being laid for social and political edifices which will determine the fate of the entire country for many, many years to come. The revolutionary movement continues to grow with amazing rapidity—and "our trends" are ripening (and withering) uncommonly fast. Trends firmly rooted in the class system of such a rapidly developing capitalist country as Russia almost immediately reach their own level and feel their way to the classes they are related to. An example is the evolution of Mr. Struve, from whom the revolutionary workers proposed to "tear the mask" of a Marxist only one and a half years ago and who has now himself come forward without this mask as the leader (or servant?) of the liberal landlords, people who take pride in their earthiness and their sober judgement. On the other hand, trends expressing only the traditional instability of views held by the intermediate and indefinite sections of the intelligentsia try to substitute noisy declarations for *rapprochement* with definite classes, declarations which are all the noisier, the louder the thunder of events. "At least we make an infernal noise"[71]—such is the slogan of many revolutionarily minded individuals who have been caught up in the maelstrom of events and who have neither theoretical principles nor social roots.

It is to these "noisy" trends that the "Socialist-Revolutionaries", whose physiognomy is emerging more and more clearly, also belong. And it is high time for the proletariat to have a better look at this physiognomy, and form a clear idea of the real nature of these people, who seek the proletariat's friendship all the more persistently, the more palpable it becomes to them that they cannot exist as a separate trend without close ties with the truly revolutionary class of society.

Three circumstances have served most to disclose the true face of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. These are, first, the split between the revolutionary Social-Democrats and the opportunists, who are raising their heads under the banner of the "criticism of Marxism". Secondly, Balmashov's assassination of Sipyagin and the new swing towards terrorism in the sentiments of some revolutionaries. Thirdly and mainly, the latest movement among the peasantry, which has compelled such that are accustomed to sit between two stools and have no programme whatever to come out *post factum* with some semblance of a programme. We shall proceed to examine these three circumstances, with the reservation that in a newspaper article it is possible to give only a brief outline of the main points in the argument and that we shall in all likelihood return to the subject and expound it in greater detail in a magazine article, or in a pamphlet.[72]

It was only in No. 2 of *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* that the Socialist-Revolutionaries finally decided to come out with a theoretical statement of principle, in an unsigned editorial headed "The World Progress and Crisis of Socialism". We strongly recommend this article to all who want to get a clear idea of utter unprincipledness and vacillation in matters of theory (as well as of the art of concealing this behind a spate of rhetoric). The entire content of this highly noteworthy article may be expressed in a few words. Socialism has grown into a world force, socialism (= Marxism) is now splitting as a result of the war of the revolutionaries (the "orthodox") against the opportunists (the "critics"). We, Socialist-Revolutionaries, "of course" have never sympathised with opportunism, but we are overjoyed because of the "criticism" which has freed us from

a dogma; we too are working for a revision of this dogma—and although we have as yet nothing at all to show by way of criticism (except bourgeois-opportunist criticism), although we have as yet revised absolutely nothing, it is nevertheless that freedom from theory which redounds to our credit. That redounds to our credit all the more because, as people free of theory, we stand firmly for general unity and vehemently condemn all theoretical disputes over principles. "A serious revolutionary organisation", *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* (No. 2, p. 127) assures us in all seriousness, "would give up trying to settle disputed questions of social theory, which always lead to disunity, although this of course should not hinder theoreticians from seeking their solution"—or, more outspokenly: let the writers do the writing and the readers do the reading[73] and in the meantime, while they are busying themselves, we will rejoice at the blank left behind.

There is no need, of course, to engage in a serious analysis of this theory of deviation from socialism (in the event of disputes proper). In our opinion, the crisis of socialism makes it incumbent upon any in the least serious socialists to devote redoubled attention to theory—to adopt more resolutely a strictly definite stand, to draw a sharper line of demarcation between themselves and wavering and unreliable elements. In the opinion of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, however, if such things as confusion and splits are possible "even among Germans", then it is God's will that we, Russians, should pride ourselves on our ignorance of whither we are drifting. In our opinion, the absence of theory deprives a revolutionary trend of the right to existence and inevitably condemns it, sooner or later, to political bankruptcy. In the opinion of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, however, the absence of theory is a most excellent thing, most favourable "for unity". As you see, we cannot reach agreement with them, for the fact of the matter is that we even speak different languages. There is one hope: perhaps they will be made to see reason by Mr. Struve, who also (only more seriously) speaks about the elimination of dogma and says that "our" business (as is the business of any bourgeoisie that appeals to the proletariat) is not to disunite, but to unite. Will not the Socialist-Revolutionaries ever see, with the help of

Mr. Struve, what is *really signified* by their stand of liberation from socialism for the purpose of unity, and unity on the occasion of liberation from socialism?

Let us go over to the second point, the question of terrorism.

In their defence of terrorism, which the experience of the Russian revolutionary movement has so clearly proved to be ineffective, the Socialist-Revolutionaries are talking themselves blue in the face in asseverating that they recognise terrorism only in conjunction with work among the masses, and that therefore the arguments used by the Russian Social-Democrats to refute the efficacy of this method of struggle (and which have indeed been refuted for a long time to come) do not apply to them. Here something very similar to their attitude towards "criticism" is repeating itself. We are not opportunists, cry the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and at the same time they are shelving the dogma of proletarian socialism, for reason of sheer opportunist criticism and no other. We are not repeating the terrorists' mistakes and are not diverting attention from work among the masses, the Socialist-Revolutionaries assure us, and at the same time enthusiastically recommend to the Party acts such as Balmashov's assassination of Sipyagin, although everyone knows and sees perfectly well that this act was in no way connected with the masses and, moreover, could not have been by reason of the very way in which it was carried out—that the persons who committed this terrorist act neither counted on nor hoped for any definite action or support on the part of the masses. In their naïveté, the Socialist-Revolutionaries do not realise that their predilection for terrorism is causally most intimately linked with the fact that, from the very outset, they have always kept, and still keep, aloof from the working-class movement, without even attempting to become a party of the revolutionary class which is waging its class struggle. Over-ardent protestations very often lead one to doubt and suspect the worth of whatever it is that requires such strong seasoning. Do not these protestations weary them?—I often think of these words, when I read assurances by the Socialist-Revolutionaries: "by terrorism we are not relegating work among the masses into the background". After all, these assurances come from the very people who have al-

ready drifted away from the Social-Democratic labour movement, which really rouses the masses; they come from people who are continuing to drift away from this movement, clutching at fragments of any kind of theory.

The leaflet issued by the "Party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries" on April 3, 1902, may serve as a splendid illustration of what has been stated above. It is a most realistic source, one that is very close to the immediate leaders, a most authentic source. The "presentation of the question of terrorist struggle" in this leaflet "coincides in full" also "with the Party views", according to the valuable testimony of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (No. 7, p. 24).*

The April 3 leaflet follows the pattern of the terrorists' "latest" arguments with remarkable accuracy. The first thing that strikes the eye is the words: "we advocate terrorism, not in place of work among the masses, but precisely for and simultaneously with that work". They strike the eye particularly because these words are printed in letters three times as large as the rest of the text (a device that is of course repeated by *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*). It is all really so simple! One has only to set "not in place of, but together with" in bold type—and all the arguments of the Social-Democrats, all that history has taught, will fall to the ground. But just read the whole leaflet and you will see that the protestation in bold type takes the name of the masses in vain. The day "when the working people will emerge from the shadows" and "the mighty popular wave will shatter the iron gates to smithereens"—"alas!" (literally, "alas!") "is still a long way off, and it is fright-

* True, *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* does some juggling with this point also. On the one hand—"coincides in full", on the other—a hint about "exaggerations". On the one hand, *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* declares that this leaflet comes from only "one group" of Socialist-Revolutionaries. On the other hand, it is a fact that the leaflet bears the imprint "Published by the Socialist-Revolutionary Party." Moreover, it carries the motto of this same *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* ("By struggle you will achieve your rights"). We appreciate that *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* finds it disagreeable to touch on this ticklish point but we believe that it is simply unseemly to play at hide-and-seek in such cases. The existence of "economism" was just as disagreeable to revolutionary Social-Democracy, but the latter exposed it openly, without ever making the slightest attempt to mislead anyone.

ful to think of the future toll of victims!" Do not these words "alas, still a long way off" reflect an utter failure to understand the mass movement and a lack of faith in it? Is not this argument meant as a deliberate sneer at the fact that the working people are already beginning to rise? And, finally, even if this trite argument were just as well-founded as it is actually stuff and nonsense, what would emerge from it in particularly bold relief would be the inefficacy of terrorism, for *without* the working people all bombs are powerless, patently powerless.

Just listen to what follows: "Every terrorist blow, as it were, takes away part of the strength of the autocracy and transfers [!] all this strength [!] to the side of the fighters for freedom." "And if terrorism is practised systematically [!], it is obvious that the scales of the balance will finally weigh down on our side." Yes, indeed, it is obvious to all that we have here in its grossest form one of the greatest prejudices of the terrorists: political assassination of itself "transfers strength"! Thus, on the one hand you have the theory of the transference of strength, and on the other—"not in place of, but together with".... Do not these protestations weary them?

But this is just the beginning. The real thing is yet to come. "Whom are we to strike down?" asks the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and replies: the ministers, and not the tsar, for "the tsar will not allow matters to go to extremes" (!!How did they find that out??), and besides "it is also easier" (this is literally what they say!): "No minister can ensconce himself in a palace as in a fortress." And this argument concludes with the following piece of reasoning, which deserves to be immortalised as a model of the "theory" of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. "Against the crowd the autocracy has its soldiers; against the revolutionary organisations its secret and uniformed police; but what will save it..." (what kind of "it" is this? The autocracy? The author has unwittingly identified the autocracy with a target in the person of a minister whom it is easier to strike down!) "...from individuals or small groups that are ceaselessly, and even in ignorance of one another [!!], preparing for attack, and are attacking? No force will be of avail against elusiveness. Hence, our task is clear: to remove every

one of the autocracy's brutal oppressors by the only means that has been left [!] us by the autocracy—death." No matter how many reams of paper the Socialist-Revolutionaries may fill with assurances that they are not relegating work among the masses into the background or disorganising it by their advocacy of terrorism—their spate of words cannot disprove the fact that the actual psychology of the modern terrorist is faithfully conveyed in the leaflet we have quoted. The theory of the transference of strength finds its natural complement in the theory of elusiveness, a theory which turns upside down, not only all past experience, but all common sense as well. That the only "hope" of the revolution is the "crowd"; that only a revolutionary organisation which leads this crowd (in deed and not in word) can fight against the police—all this is ABC. It is shameful to have to prove this. And only people who have forgotten everything and learned absolutely nothing could have decided "the other way about", arriving at the fabulous, howling stupidity that the autocracy can be "saved" from the crowd by soldiers, and from the revolutionary organisations by the police, but that there is no salvation from individuals who hunt down ministers!!

This fabulous argument, which we are convinced is destined to become notorious, is by no means simply a curiosity. No, it is instructive because, through a sweeping reduction to an absurdity, it reveals the principal mistake of the terrorists, which they share with the "economists" (perhaps one might already say, with the former representatives of deceased "economism"?) This mistake, as we have already pointed out on numerous occasions, consists in the *failure to understand* the basic defect of our movement. Because of the extremely rapid growth of the movement, the leaders lagged behind the masses, the revolutionary organisations did not come up to the level of the revolutionary activity of the proletariat, were incapable of marching on in front and leading the masses. That a discrepancy of this sort exists cannot be doubted by any conscientious person who has even the slightest acquaintance with the movement. And if that is so, it is evident that the present-day terrorists are really "economists" turned inside out, going to the equally foolish but opposite extreme. At a time when the revolutionaries *are short of* the forces and means to lead the masses,

who are already rising, an appeal to resort to such terrorist acts as the organisation of attempts on the lives of ministers by individuals and groups that are not known to one another means, not only *thereby* breaking off work among the masses, but also introducing downright disorganisation into that work.

We, revolutionaries, "are accustomed to huddling together in timid knots," we read in the April 3 leaflet, "and even [N.B.] the new, bold spirit that has appeared during the last two or three years has so far done more to raise the sentiments of the crowd than of individuals." These words unintentionally express much that is true. And it is this very truth that deals a smashing rebuff to the propagandists of terrorism. From this truth every thinking socialist draws the conclusion that it is necessary to use group action more energetically, boldly, and harmoniously. The Socialist-Revolutionaries, however, conclude: "Shoot, elusive individual, for the knot of people, alas, is still a long way off, and besides there are soldiers against the knot." This really defies all reason, gentlemen!

Nor does the leaflet eschew the theory of excitative terrorism. "Each time a hero engages in single combat, this arouses in us all a spirit of struggle and courage," we are told. But we know from the past and see in the present that *only* new forms of the mass movement or the awakening of new sections of the masses to independent struggle really rouses a spirit of struggle and courage *in all*. Single combat however, inasmuch as it remains *single combat* waged by the Balmashovs, has the immediate effect of simply creating a short-lived sensation, while indirectly it even leads to apathy and passive waiting for the next *bout*. We are further assured that "every flash of terrorism lights up the mind", which, unfortunately, we have not noticed to be the case with the terrorism-preaching party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. We are presented with the theory of big work and petty work. "Let not those who have greater strength, greater opportunities and resolution rest content with petty [!] work; let them find and devote themselves to a big cause—the propaganda of terrorism among the masses [!], the preparation of the intricate ... [the theory of elusiveness is already forgotten!] ... terror

ist ventures." How amazingly clever this is in all truth: to sacrifice the life of a revolutionary for the sake of wreaking vengeance on the scoundrel Sipyagin, who is then replaced by the scoundrel Plehve—that is big work. But to prepare, *for instance*, the masses for an armed demonstration—that is petty work. This very point is explained in No. 8 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*, which declares that "it is easy to write and speak" of armed demonstrations "as a matter of the vague and distant future", "but up till now all this talk has been merely of a theoretical nature". How well we know this language of people who are free of the constraint of firm socialist convictions, of the burdensome experience of each and every kind of popular movement! They confuse immediately tangible and sensational results with practicalness. To them the demand to adhere steadfastly to the class standpoint and to maintain the mass nature of the movement is "vague" "theorising". In their eyes definitiveness is slavish compliance with every turn of sentiment and ... and, by reason of this compliance, inevitable helplessness at each turn demonstrations begin—and bloodthirsty words, talk about the beginning of the end, flow from the lips of such people. The demonstrations halt—their hands drop helplessly, and before they have had time to wear out a pair of boots they are already shouting: "The people, alas, are still a long way off...." Some new outrage is perpetrated by the tsar's henchmen—and they demand to be shown a "definite" measure that would serve as an exhaustive *reply* to that particular outrage, a measure that would bring about an immediate "transference of strength", and they proudly promise this transference! These people do not understand that this very promise to "transfer" strength constitutes political adventurism, and that their adventurism stems from their lack of principle.

The Social-Democrats will always warn against adventurism and ruthlessly expose illusions which inevitably end in complete disappointment. We must bear in mind that a revolutionary party is worthy of its name only when it guides *in deed* the movement of a revolutionary class. We must bear in mind that any popular movement assumes an infinite variety of forms, is constantly developing new forms and discarding the old, and effecting modifications or new

combinations of old and new forms. It is our duty to participate actively in this process of working out means and methods of struggle. When the students' movement became sharper, we began to call on the workers to come to the aid of the students (*Iskra*, No. 2*) without taking it upon ourselves to forecast the forms of the demonstrations, without promising that they would result in an immediate transference of strength, in lighting up the mind, or a special elusiveness. When the demonstrations became consolidated, we began to call for their organisation and for the arming of the masses, and put forward the task of preparing a popular uprising. Without in the least denying violence and terrorism in principle, we demanded work for the preparation of such forms of violence as were calculated to bring about the direct participation of the masses and which guaranteed that participation. We do not close our eyes to the difficulties of this task, but will work at it steadfastly and persistently, undeterred by the objections that this is a matter of the "vague and distant future". Yes, gentlemen, we stand for future and not only past forms of the movement. We give preference to long and arduous work on what promises a future rather than to an "easy" repetition of what has been condemned by the past. We shall always expose people who in word war against hackneyed dogmas and in practice hold exclusively to such moth-eaten and harmful commonplaces as the theory of the transference of strength, the difference between big work and petty work and, of course, the theory of single combat. "Just as in the days of yore the peoples' battles were fought out by their leaders in single combat, so now the terrorists will win Russia's freedom in single combat with the autocracy," the April 3 leaflet concludes. The mere reprinting of *such* sentences provides their refutation.

Anyone who really carries on his revolutionary work in conjunction with the class struggle of the proletariat very well knows, sees and feels what vast numbers of immediate and direct demands of the proletariat (and of the sections of the people capable of supporting the latter) remain unsatisfied. He knows that in very many places, throughout vast areas, the working people are literally

* See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 414-19.—*Ed.*

straining to go into action, and that their ardour runs to waste because of the scarcity of literature and leadership, the lack of forces and means in the revolutionary organisations. And we find ourselves—we see that we find ourselves—in the same old vicious circle that has so long hemmed in the Russian revolution like an omen of evil. On the one hand, the revolutionary ardour of the insufficiently enlightened and unorganised crowd runs to waste. On the other hand, shots fired by the "elusive individuals" who are losing faith in the possibility of marching in formation and working hand in hand with the masses also end in smoke.

But things can still be put to rights, comrades! Loss of faith in a real cause is the rare exception rather than the rule. The urge to commit terrorist acts is a passing mood. Then let the Social-Democrats close their ranks, and we shall fuse the militant organisation of revolutionaries and the mass heroism of the Russian proletariat into a single whole!

In the next article we shall deal with the agrarian programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

II

The Socialist-Revolutionaries' attitude to the peasant movement is of particular interest. It is precisely in the agrarian question that representatives of the old Russian socialism, their liberal-Narodnik descendants, and also adherents of opportunist criticism who are so numerous in Russia and so vociferously pass assurances that on this score Marxism has already been conclusively disproved by the "critics", have always considered themselves especially strong. Our Socialist-Revolutionaries too are tearing Marxism to shreds, so to speak: "dogmatic prejudices ... outlived dogmas long since refuted by life ... the revolutionary intelligentsia has shut its eyes to the countryside, revolutionary work among the peasantry was forbidden by orthodoxy", and much else in this vein. It is the current fashion to kick out at orthodoxy. But to what subspecies must one relegate those of the kickers who *did not* even *manage* to draw up an outline for an agrarian programme of their own *before*

the commencement of the peasant movement? When *Iskra* sketched its agrarian programme as early as in No. 3,* *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* could only mutter: "Given such a presentation of the question, still another of our differences is fading away"—what happened here is that the editors of *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* had the mishap of utterly failing to understand *Iskra* 's presentation of the question (the "introduction of the class struggle into the countryside"). *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* now belatedly refers to the pamphlet entitled *The Next Question*, although it contains no programme whatever, but only panegyrics on such "celebrated" opportunists as Hertz.

And now these same people—who before the commencement of the movement were in agreement both with *Iskra* and with Hertz—come out, on the day following the peasant uprising, with a manifesto "from the peasant league [!] of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party", a manifesto in which you will not find a single syllable really emanating from the peasantry, but only a literal repetition of what you have read hundreds of times in the writings of the Narodniks, the liberals, and the "critics". ... It is said that courage can move mountains. That is so, Messrs. the Socialist-Revolutionaries, but it is not to such courage that your garish advertisement testifies.

We have seen that the Socialist-Revolutionaries' greatest "advantage" lies in their freedom from theory; their greatest skill consists in their ability to speak without saying anything. But in order to present a programme, one must nevertheless say something. It is necessary, for instance, to throw overboard the "dogma of the Russian Social-Democrats of the late eighties and early nineties to the effect that there is no revolutionary force save the urban proletariat". What a handy little word "dogma" is! One need only slightly twist an opposing theory, cover up this twist with the bogy of "dogma"—and there you are!

Beginning with the *Communist Manifesto*, all modern socialism rests on the indisputable truth that the proletariat alone is a *really* revolutionary class in capitalist society. The other classes may and do become revolutionary only in

* See present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 420-28.—*Ed.*

part and only under certain conditions. What, then, must one think of people who have "transformed" this truth into a dogma of the Russian Social-Democrats of a definite period and who try to convince the naïve reader that this dogma was "based entirely on the belief that open political struggle lay far in the future"?

To counter Marx's doctrine that there is only one really revolutionary class in modern society, the Socialist-Revolutionaries advance the trinity: "the intelligentsia, the proletariat, and the peasantry", thereby revealing a hopeless confusion of concepts. If one sets the intelligentsia against the proletariat and the peasantry it means that one considers the former a definite social stratum, a group of persons occupying just as definite a social position as is occupied by the wage-workers and the peasants. But as such a stratum the Russian intelligentsia is precisely a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. With regard to this stratum, Mr. Struve is quite right in calling his paper the mouthpiece of the Russian intelligentsia. However, if one is referring to those intellectuals who have *not yet taken* any definite social stand, or *have already been thrown off* their normal stand by the facts of life, and are passing over to the side of the proletariat, then it is altogether absurd to contrapose this intelligentsia to the proletariat. Like any other class in modern society, the proletariat is not only advancing intellectuals from its own midst, but also accepts into its ranks supporters from the midst of all and sundry educated people. The campaign of the Socialist-Revolutionaries against the basic "dogma" of Marxism is merely additional proof that the entire strength of this party is represented by the handful of Russian intellectuals who have broken away from the old, but have not yet adhered to the new.

The Socialist-Revolutionaries' views on the peasantry are even more muddled. To take just the posing of the question: "What social classes in general [!] always [!!] cling to the existing ... [the autocratic only? or bourgeois in general?] ... order, guard it and do not yield to revolutionisation?" As a matter of fact, this question can be answered only by another question: what elements of the intelligentsia in general always cling to the existing chaos of ideas,

guard it and do not yield to a definite socialist world outlook? But the Socialist-Revolutionaries want to give a serious answer to an insignificant question. To "these" classes they refer, first, the bourgeoisie, since its "interests have been satisfied". This old prejudice that the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie have already been satisfied to such a degree that we neither have nor can have bourgeois democracy in our country (cf. *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*, No. 2, pp. 132-33) is now shared by the "economists" and the Socialist-Revolutionaries. Again, won't Mr. Struve teach them some common sense?

Secondly, the Socialist-Revolutionaries include among these classes the "petty-bourgeois strata" "whose interests are individualistic, undefined as class interests, and do not lend themselves to formulation in a reformative or revolutionary socio-political programme". Whence this has come, the Lord alone knows. It is common knowledge that the petty bourgeoisie does not always and in general guard the existing order, but on the contrary often takes revolutionary action even against the bourgeoisie (specifically, when it joins the proletariat) and very often against absolutism, and that it almost always formulates programmes of social reform. Our author has simply come out with a "noisier" declaration against the petty bourgeoisie, in accordance with the "practical rule", which Turgenev expressed through an "old fox" in one of his "Poems in Prose": "Cry out most loudly against those vices you yourself feel guilty of."[74] And so, *since* the Socialist-Revolutionaries feel that the only social basis of their position between two stools can be perhaps provided only by certain petty-bourgeois sections of the intelligentsia, they *therefore* write about the petty bourgeoisie as if this term does not signify a social category, but is simply a polemical turn of speech. They likewise want to evade the unpleasant fact of their failure to understand that the peasantry of today belongs, as a whole, to the "petty-bourgeois strata". Won't you try to give us an answer on this score, Messrs. the Socialist-Revolutionaries? Won't you tell us why it is that, while repeating snatches of the theory of Russian Marxism (for example, about the progressive significance of peasant outside employment and tramping), you turn a blind eye to the fact that this same Marxism has

revealed the petty-bourgeois make-up of Russian peasant economy? Won't you explain to us how it is possible in contemporary society for "proprietors or semi-proprietors" not to belong to the petty-bourgeois strata?

No, harbour no hopes! The Socialist-Revolutionaries will not reply; they will not say or explain anything bearing upon the matter, for they (again like the "economists") have thoroughly learned the tactic of pleading ignorance when it comes to theory. *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* looks meaningly towards *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*—that is their job, they say (cf. No. 4, reply to *Zarya*), while *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* informs its readers of the exploits of the opportunist critics and keeps on threatening to make its criticism ever sharper. That is hardly enough, gentlemen!

The Socialist-Revolutionaries have kept themselves pure of the baneful influence of modern socialist doctrines. They have fully preserved the good old methods of vulgar socialism. We are confronted by a new historical fact, a new movement among a certain section of the people. They do not examine the condition of this section or set themselves the aim of explaining its movement by the nature of that section and its relation to the developing economic structure of society as a whole. To them, all this is an empty dogma, outlived orthodoxy. They do things more simply: what is it that the representatives of the rising section themselves are speaking about? Land, additional allotments, redistribution of the land. There it is in a nutshell. You have a "semi-socialist programme", "a thoroughly correct principle", "a bright idea", "an ideal which already lives in the peasant's mind in embryo form", etc. All that is necessary is to "brush up and elaborate this ideal", bring out the "pure idea of socialism". You find this hard to believe, reader? It seems incredible to you that this Narodnik junk should again be dragged into the light of day by people who so glibly repeat whatever the latest book may tell them? And yet this is a fact, and all the words we have quoted are in the declaration "from the peasant league" published in No. 8 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*.

The Socialist-Revolutionaries accuse *Iskra* of having prematurely tolled the knell of the peasant movement by describing it as the last peasant revolt. The peasantry,

they inform us, can participate in the socialist movement of the proletariat as well. This accusation testifies to the confusion of thought among the Socialist-Revolutionaries. They have not even grasped that the democratic movement against the remnants of serf-ownership is one thing, and the socialist movement against the bourgeoisie is quite another. Since they have failed to understand the peasant movement itself, they have likewise been unable to understand that the words in *Iskra*, which frightened them so, refer only to the former movement. Not only has *Iskra* stated in its programme that the small producers (including the peasants), who are being ruined, can and should participate in the socialist movement of the proletariat, but it has also defined the exact conditions for this participation. The peasant movement of today, however, is not at all a socialist movement directed against the bourgeoisie and capitalism. On the contrary, it unites the bourgeois and the proletarian elements in the peasantry, which are really one in the struggle against the remnants of the serf-owning system. The peasant movement of today is leading—and will lead—to the establishment, not of a socialist or a semi-socialist way of life in the countryside, but of a bourgeois way of life, and will clear away the feudal debris cluttering up the bourgeois foundations that have already arisen in our countryside.

But all this is a sealed book to the Socialist-Revolutionaries. They even assure *Iskra* in all seriousness that to clear the way for the development of capitalism is an empty dogma, since the "reforms" (of the sixties) "did clear [!] full [!!] space for the development of capitalism". That is what can be written by a glib person who lets a facile pen run away with him and who imagines that the "peasant league" can get away with anything: the peasant won't see through it! But kindly reflect for a moment, my dear author: have you never heard that remnants of the serf-owning system retard the development of capitalism? Don't you think that this is even all but tautological? And haven't you read somewhere about the remnants of serf-ownership in the present-day Russian countryside?

Iskra says that the impending revolution will be a bourgeois revolution. The Socialist-Revolutionaries ob-

ject: it will be "primarily a political revolution and to a certain extent a democratic revolution". Won't the authors of this pretty objection try to explain this to us—does history know of any bourgeois revolution, or is such a bourgeois revolution conceivable, that is not "to a certain extent a democratic revolution"? Why, even the programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries themselves (equalitarian tenure of land that has become social property) does not go beyond the limits of a bourgeois programme, since the preservation of commodity production and toleration of private farming, even if it is conducted on common land, in no way eliminates capitalist relationships in agriculture.

The greater the levity with which the Socialist-Revolutionaries approach the most elementary truths of modern socialism, the more easily do they invent "most elementary deductions", even taking pride in the fact that their "programme reduces itself" to such. Let us then examine all three of their deductions, which most probably will long remain a monument to the keen wit and profound socialist convictions of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

Deduction No. 1: "A large portion of the territory of Russia now already belongs to the state—what we need is that all the territory should belong to the people." Our teeth are "now already" on edge from the touching references to state ownership of land in Russia contained in the writings of the police Narodniks (*à la* Sazonov, etc.) and the various *Katheder*-reformers.[75] "What we need" is that people who style themselves socialists and even revolutionaries should trail in the rear of these gentlemen. "What we need" is that socialists should lay stress on the alleged omnipotence of the "state" (forgetting even that a large share of the state land is concentrated in the uninhabited marginal regions of the country), and not on the class antagonism between the semi-serf peasantry and the privileged handful of big landowners, who own most of the best cultivated land and with whom the "state" has always been on the best of terms. Our Socialist-Revolutionaries, who imagine that they are deducing a pure idea of socialism, are in actual fact sullying this idea by their uncritical attitude towards the old Narodism.

Deduction No. 2: "The land is now already passing from capital to labour—what we need is that this process be completed by the state." The deeper you go into the forest, the thicker the trees.* Let us take another step towards police Narodism; let us call on the (class!) "state" to extend peasant landownership in general. This is remarkably socialistic and amazingly revolutionary. But what can one expect of people who call the purchase and lease of land by the peasants a transfer "from capital to labour" and not transfer of land from the feudal-minded landlords to the rural bourgeoisie. Let us remind these people at least of the statistics on the actual distribution of the land that is "passing to labour": between six- and nine-tenths of all peasant-purchased land, and from five- to eight-tenths of all leased land are concentrated in the hands of *one-fifth of the peasant households*, i.e., in the hands of a small minority of well-to-do peasants. From this one can judge whether there is much truth in the Socialist-Revolutionaries' words when they assert "we do not at all count" on the well-to-do peasants but only on the "labouring sections exclusively".

Deduction No. 3: "The peasant already has land, and in most cases on the basis of equalitarian land distribution—what we need is that this labour tenure should be carried through to the end ... and culminate in collective agricultural production through the development of co-operatives of every kind." Scratch a Socialist-Revolutionary and you find Mr. V. V.![76] When it came to action, all the old prejudices of Narodism, which had safely preserved themselves behind shifty phrasing, crept to the surface at once. State ownership of the land—the completion by the state of the transference of the land to the peasantry—the village commune—co-operatives—collectivism—in this magnificent scheme of Messrs. Sazonov, Yuzov, N.—on,[77] the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Hofstetter, Totomiants, and so on, and so forth—in this scheme a mere trifle is lacking. It takes account neither of developing capitalism, nor of the class struggle. But then how could this trifle enter the minds of people whose entire ideological luggage consists of Narodnik rags and smart patches of fashionable

* A Russian saying.—*Ed.*

criticism? Did not Mr. Bulgakov *himself* say that there is no place for the class struggle in the countryside? Will the replacement of the class struggle by "co-operatives of every kind" fail to satisfy both the liberals and the "critics", and in general all those to whom socialism is no more than a traditional label? And is it not possible to try to soothe naïve people with the assurance: "Of course, any idealisation of the village commune is alien to us", although right next to this assurance you read some colossal bombast about the "colossal organisation of the *mir* peasants", then bombast that "in certain respects no other class in Russia is so impelled towards a purely [!] political struggle as the peasantry", that peasant self-determination (!) is far broader in scope and in competence than that of the Zemstvo, that this combination of "broad" ... (up to the very boundary of the village?) ... "independent activity" with an absence of the "most elementary civic rights" "seems to have been deliberately designed for the purpose of ... rousing and exercising [!] political instincts and habits of social struggle". If you don't like all this, you don't have to listen, but....

"One has to be blind not to see how much easier it is to pass to the idea of socialising the land from the traditions of communal land tenure." Is it not the other way round, gentlemen? Are not those people hopelessly deaf and blind who to this very day do not know that it is precisely the medieval seclusion of the semi-serf commune, which splits the peasantry into tiny unions and binds the rural proletariat hand and foot, that maintains the traditions of stagnation, oppression, and barbarism? Are you not defeating your own purpose by recognising the usefulness of outside employment, which has already destroyed by three-quarters the much-vaunted traditions of equalitarian land tenure in the commune, and reduced these traditions to meddling by the police?

The minimum programme of the Socialist Revolutionaries, based as it is on the theory we have just analysed, is a real curiosity. This "programme" includes two items: 1) "socialisation of the land, i.e., its conversion into the property of the whole of society, to be used by the working people"; 2) "the development among the peasantry of all possible types of public associations and economic co-

operatives ... [for a "purely" political struggle?] ... for the gradual emancipation of the peasantry from the sway of money capital ... [and subjugation to industrial?] ... and for the preparation of collective agricultural production of the future." Just as the sun is reflected in a drop of water, so is the entire spirit of the present-day "Social-Revolutionarism" reflected in these two items. In theory, revolutionary phrasemongering instead of a considered and integral system of views; in practice—helpless snatching at this or that modish petty expedient instead of participation in the class struggle—that is all they have to show. We must admit that it has required rare civic courage to place socialisation of the land *alongside* of co-operation in a *minimum* programme. Their minimum programme: Babeuf, on the one hand, and Mr. Levitsky, on the other.[78] This is inimitable.

If it were possible to take this programme seriously, we should have to say that, in deceiving themselves with grandiloquent words, the Socialist-Revolutionaries are also deceiving the peasants. It is deception to assert that "co-operatives of every kind" play a revolutionary role in present-day society and prepare the way for collectivism rather than strengthen the rural bourgeoisie. It is deception to assert that socialisation of the land can be placed before the "*peasantry*" as a "minimum", as something just as close at hand as the establishment of co-operatives. Any socialist could explain to our Socialist-Revolutionaries that today the abolition of private ownership of land can only be the immediate prelude to its abolition in general; that the mere transfer of the land "to be used by the working people" would still not satisfy the proletariat, since millions and tens of millions of ruined peasants are no longer able to work the land, even if they had it. And to supply these ruined millions with implements, cattle, etc., would amount to the socialisation of all the means of production and would require a socialist revolution of the proletariat and not a peasant movement against the remnants of the serf-owning system. The Socialist-Revolutionaries are confusing socialisation of the land with bourgeois nationalisation of the land. Speaking in the abstract, the latter is conceivable on the basis of capitalism too, without abolishing wage-labour. But the very example of these same Socialist-Revo-

lutionaries is vivid confirmation of the truth that to advance the demand for nationalisation of the land in a police state is tantamount to obscuring the only revolutionary principle, that of the class struggle, and bringing grist to the mill of every kind of bureaucracy.

Not only that. The Socialist-Revolutionaries descend to outright reaction when they rise up against the demand of our draft programme for the "annulment of all laws restricting the peasant in the free disposal of his land". For the sake of the Narodnik prejudice about the "commune principle" and the "equalitarian principle" they deny to the peasant such a "most elementary civic right" as the right freely to dispose of his land; they complacently shut their eyes to the fact that the village commune of today is hemmed in by its social-estate reality; they become champions of the police interdictions established and supported by the "state" ... of the rural superintendents! We believe that not only Mr. Levitsky but Mr. Pobedonostsev[79] too will not be very much alarmed over the demand for socialisation of the land for the purpose of establishing equalitarian land tenure, once this demand is put forth as a minimum demand alongside of which such things figure as co-operatives and the defence of the police system of keeping the muzhik tied down to the official allotment which supports him.

Let the agrarian programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries serve as a lesson and a warning to all socialists, a glaring example of what results from an absence of ideology and principles, which some unthinking people call freedom from dogma. When it came to action, the Socialist-Revolutionaries did not reveal even a single of the three conditions essential for the elaboration of a consistent socialist programme: a clear idea of the ultimate aim; a correct understanding of the path leading to that aim; an accurate conception of the true state of affairs at the given moment or of the immediate tasks of that moment. They simply obscured the ultimate aim of socialism by confusing socialisation of the land with bourgeois nationalisation and by confusing the primitive peasant idea about small-scale equalitarian land tenure with the doctrine of modern socialism on the conversion of all means of production

into public property and the organisation of socialist production. Their conception of the path leading to socialism is peerlessly characterised by their substitution of the development of co-operatives for the class struggle. In their estimation of the present stage in the agrarian evolution of Russia, they have forgotten a trifle: the remnants of serf-ownership, which weigh so heavily on our countryside. The famous trinity which reflects their theoretical views—the intelligentsia, the proletariat, and the peasantry—has its complement in the no less famous three-point "programme"—socialisation of the land, co-operatives, and attachment to the allotment.

Compare this with *Iskra*'s programme, which indicates to the entire militant proletariat one ultimate aim, without reducing it to a "minimum", without debasing it so as to adapt it to the ideas of certain backward sections of the proletariat or of the small producers. The road leading to this aim is the same in town and countryside—the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. But besides this class struggle, another struggle is going on in our countryside: the struggle of the entire peasantry against the remnants of serf-ownership. And in *this* struggle the party of the proletariat promises its support to the *entire* peasantry and strives to provide its revolutionary ardour with a real objective, and guide its uprising against its real enemy, considering it dishonest and unworthy to treat the muzhik as though he were under tutelage or to conceal from him the fact that at present and immediately he can achieve only the complete eradication of all traces and remnants of the serf-owning system, and only clear the way for the broader and more difficult struggle of the entire proletariat against the whole of bourgeois society.

Iskra, No. 23, August 1,
and No. 24, September 1, 1902

Published according
to the *Iskra* text

A LETTER TO THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE

Dear Comrades,

We have received your letter expressing your gratitude to the author of *What Is to Be Done?* and informing us of the decision to allocate 20 per cent* to *Iskra*. I thank you heartily for this expression of sympathy and solidarity. It is all the more valuable for an author of illegal publications because of the fact that in his work he is completely cut off from his readers. Each exchange of ideas, each report of the impression any article or pamphlet produces on the various groups of readers is of particular importance to us, and we shall be very grateful, not only for letters dealing with the work in the strict sense of the word, not only for contributions to the press, but also for letters which make the author feel that he is not cut off from the reader.

We published your decision to credit 20 per cent to *Iskra* in No. 22 of *Iskra*. However, we did not venture to publish your thanks to Lenin, since for one thing you mentioned that separately, without saying that you would like to see it in print. And for another, the wording of your message of thanks did not seem suitable for the press. But please do not think we attach no importance to publication of the committees' declarations on their solidarity with certain views. On the contrary, *this is of special importance*, particularly now when all of us are thinking of the unification of revolutionary Social-Democracy. It would be highly desirable for the Moscow Committee to express its solidarity with my book in the form of a *statement*, which

* I.e., of the Moscow Party Committee's fund.—*Ed.*

would immediately appear in *Iskra*. It is high time that the committees came out with an open announcement of their Party stand, breaking with those tactics of tacit agreement which prevailed in the "third period". This is the general argument in favour of an open declaration. In particular, I, for example, *have been accused in the press* (by the *Borba* group, in its *Listok**) of wanting to turn the Editorial Board of *Iskra* into the Russian Central Committee, of wanting to "order" "agents" about, etc. This is downright distortion of what is said in *What Is to Be Done?*, but I have no desire to keep on reiterating in the press: "you are distorting". Those who should begin to speak up are, I think, the functionaries in Russia, who *know very well* that the "orders" of *Iskra* go no further than advice and an expression of opinion, and who see that the *organisational* ideas propounded in *What Is to Be Done?* reflect the vitally urgent and burning question of the *actual* movement. I think that these functionaries should themselves demand to be heard and loudly declare how *they* regard this question, how their experience in work leads them to agree with our views on the organisational tasks.

We understand, and naturally could understand, your expression of gratitude for *What Is to Be Done?* only in the sense that this book has provided you with answers to *your own questions*, that through *first-hand* acquaintance with the movement you have *yourselves* arrived at the conviction that bolder, more widespread, more *unified*, and more centralised work is needed, more closely consolidated about a single, central newspaper—a conviction which is also set forth in this book. And this being so, once you have really become convinced of this, it is desirable that the committee should say so openly and emphatically, urging the other committees to work together with it in the same direction, following the same "line", setting itself the same immediate tasks with regard to Party organisation.

We hope, comrades, that you will find it possible to read this letter to a general meeting of the whole committee, and will inform us of your decision on the questions indicated. (In parenthesis, let me add that the St. Peters-

* Literally, a one-sheet newspaper.—*Ed.*

burg Committee has also sent us an expression of solidarity, and is now considering a similar statement.)

Did you have enough copies of *What Is to Be Done?*? Have the workers read it and what is their reaction?

I warmly shake the hands of all the comrades, and wish them full success.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on August 11 (24), 1902

First published in 1922 in P. N. Lepeshinsky's book *At the Turning-Point*

Published according to the manuscript

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE PAMPHLET, *THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS*

Exactly five years have passed since the writing of the present pamphlet, which is now appearing in its second edition to meet our agitational requirements. In this brief period such tremendous progress has been made by our young working-class movement and such profound changes have taken place in the position of Russian Social-Democracy and in its strength that it may perhaps appear strange that the need should arise for an old pamphlet simply to be republished. Can it be that in 1902 the "tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats" have not changed in the least as compared with 1897? Has, then, the author himself, who at that time summed up what was still the "first experience" of his Party activity, gone no step further in his views on this score?

These (or similar) questions will probably arise in the mind of many a reader, and to answer them we must refer to the pamphlet, *What Is to Be Done?*, and supplement some of the remarks made there. This reference is necessary so as to show how the author presented his views on Social-Democracy's present-day tasks, and supplement what is said there (pp. 31-32, 121, 138*) about conditions obtaining when the pamphlet, which is now republished, was being written, and about its relation to that particular "period"

* See present edition, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

in the development of Russian Social-Democracy. In all, I named four such periods in the above-mentioned pamphlet (*What Is to Be Done?*), the last of which referred "to the sphere of the present and, partly, of the future"; the third period was termed that of the domination (or, at least, the widespread) of the "economist" trend, beginning with 1897-98; the second period was the name given to the years 1894-98, and the first to the years 1884-94. In the second period, in contrast to the third, we see no disagreements among the Social-Democrats themselves. At that time Social-Democracy was ideologically united, and it was then that an attempt was made to achieve the same unity in practice, in organisation (the formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party). At that time the main attention of the Social-Democrats was centred not on clearing up and deciding various internal Party questions (as was the case in the third period), but on the ideological struggle against the opponents of Social-Democracy, on the one hand, and on the development of practical Party work, on the other.

There was no such antagonism between the theory and the practice of the Social-Democrats as existed in the period of "economism".

The pamphlet in question reflects the specific features of the then situation and "tasks" of Social-Democracy. It calls for deeper and more widespread practical work, seeing no "obstacles" whatever to this in lack of clarity on any of the general views, principles, or theories, seeing no difficulty (at that time there was none) in combining the political struggle with the economic. It addresses its explanations of principles to adherents of the Narodnaya Volya and the Narodnoye Pravo,[80] who are opposed to Social-Democracy, in an endeavour to dispel the misunderstandings and prejudices which keep them away from the new movement.

So, at the present time, when the "economist" period is evidently coming to an end, the Social-Democrats' stand is again the same as it was five years ago. Of course, the tasks now confronting us are incomparably more complicated, as a result of the immense growth of the movement during this time, but the principal features of the present reproduce, on a broader base and on a larger scale, the

specific features of the "second" period. The variance between our theory, programme, tactical tasks, and practical activities is disappearing in proportion to the disappearance of "economism". We can and must boldly call again for deeper and more widespread practical work, since the theoretical premises for this work have already been created to a large extent. We must again devote particular attention to non-Social-Democratic illegal trends in Russia, and here we are again confronted with trends which in essence are the very same as those of the first half of the 1890s—only much more developed, organised, and "mature".

While discarding their old vestments, the adherents of the Narodnaya Volya have transformed themselves into "Socialist-Revolutionaries", indicating, as it were, by this very name that they have stopped in mid-stream. They have broken away from the old ("Russian" socialism), but have not yet adhered to the new (Social-Democracy). The only theory of revolutionary socialism known to contemporary mankind, i.e., Marxism, has been relegated by them to the archives on the basis of bourgeois ("Socialists"!) and opportunist ("Revolutionaries"!) criticism. In practice an absence of ideology and principles leads them to "revolutionary adventurism", which finds expression in a number of ways; their endeavours to place on a par such social sections and classes as the intelligentsia, the proletariat, and the peasantry; their noisy advocacy of "systematic" terrorism; their remarkable agrarian minimum programme (socialisation of the land, co-operatives, and attachment to the allotment. See *Iskra*, Nos. 23 and 24*); their attitude towards the liberals (see *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*, No. 9, and Mr. Zhitlovsky's review of *Osvobozhdeniye*[81] in No. 9 of *Sozialistische Monatshefte*[82]), and much else with which we shall most probably have to deal more than once. In Russia there are still so many social elements and conditions fostering the instability of the intellectuals, evoking in radically-minded individuals a desire to combine the outmoded and outworn with the lifeless vogue of the day, and hindering their making common cause with the proletariat and its class struggle, that the Russian Social-Democrats will have yet to reckon

* See pp. 184-205 of this volume.—*Ed.*

with a trend or trends similar to that of the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" until the time comes when capitalist evolution and the sharpening of class contradictions will cut the ground from under their feet.

The Narodnoye Pravo followers, who in 1897 were at least just as vague (see below, pp. 20-22*) as the present-day Socialist-Revolutionaries, very quickly disappeared from the scene as a consequence of this. But their "sober" idea—that of completely separating from socialism the demand for political liberty—has not died, and could not have died, for in Russia liberal democratic trends are very strong and are constantly becoming stronger among the most diverse sections of the big and petty bourgeoisie. For this reason the liberal *Osvobozhdeniye*, which wants to group around itself the representatives of the bourgeois opposition in Russia, has become the legitimate heir of the Narodnoye Pravo, and its definite, consistent, and mature continuator. And just as the withering and decay of the old, pre-Reform Russia, the patriarchal peasantry, and the old type of intelligentsia, who can be equally enthusiastic over the village commune, agricultural co-operatives, and "elusive" terrorism, are inevitable, so too is it inevitable for the propertied classes of capitalist Russia, the bourgeoisie, and the petty bourgeoisie, to grow and mature, with their sober liberalism, which is beginning to realise that it does not pay to maintain a dull-witted, barbarian, and costly autocratic government that offers no defence against socialism—with their demand for European forms of class struggle and class domination, with their innate (in the period of the awakening and growth of the proletariat) ambition to conceal their bourgeois class interests by denying the class struggle in general.

We thus have reason to be grateful to the liberal landowning gentry who are endeavouring to found a "Zemstvo constitutional party". Let us first begin with the least important thing: we are grateful to them for removing Mr. Struve from Russian Social-Democracy, completing his metamorphosis from a quasi-Marxist into a liberal, helping us by a living example to demonstrate to one and all the real

* See present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 344-45.—*Ed.*

meaning of Bernsteinism in general and of Russian Bernsteinism in particular. Secondly, by striving to turn diverse sections of the Russian bourgeoisie into conscious liberals, *Osvobozhdeniye* will help us to hasten the conversion of more and more masses of workers into conscious socialists. There has been so much rambling, liberal-Narodnik quasi-socialism in our country that the new liberal trend is clearly a step forward in comparison. It will now be a simple matter to give the workers a vivid demonstration of the Russian liberal and democratic bourgeoisie, to show the need for an independent political party of the working class that would be part of international Social-Democracy; it will now be a simple matter to call on the intellectuals to make their stand absolutely clear: liberalism *or* Social-Democracy; half-way theories and trends will very quickly be ground down between the millstones of these two growing and mounting "opposites". Thirdly, and this of course is most important, we shall be grateful to the liberals *if* through their opposition they will undermine the alliance between the autocracy and certain sections of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. We say "if" because by flirting with the autocracy, extolling peaceful cultural work, and by their war against "tendentious" revolutionaries, etc., the liberals are undermining not so much the autocracy, as the struggle against the autocracy. By steadily and uncompromisingly exposing all the half-heartedness of the liberals, all their attempts to flirt with the government, we shall be nullifying the effects of this treacherous aspect of the liberal-bourgeois gentlemen's political activity and paralysing their left hands while ensuring the greatest results from the work of their right hands.

Thus, both the Narodnaya Volya and the Narodnoye Pravo have made great strides in developing, defining, and giving shape to their actual aspirations and their actual nature. The struggle which in the first half of the 1890s took place among narrow circles of revolutionary youth is now reviving as a decisive struggle of mature political trends and real political parties.

In view of this, the new edition of the *Tasks* may perhaps prove useful also because it will remind the Party's

young members of its recent past, will show how the Social-Democrats came to occupy that position among the other trends which has only now become fully defined, and will help give a clearer and more distinct picture of the essentially identical but more complex "tasks" of the present.

The Social-Democrats are now faced with the urgent task of putting an end to all dissension and wavering in their midst, of closing their ranks, and merging organisationally under the banner of revolutionary Marxism, of concentrating all their efforts so as to unite all Social-Democrats engaged in practical work, extend and deepen their activity, while at the same time devoting serious attention to explaining to the broadest possible masses of intellectuals and workers the real significance of the two above-mentioned trends, with which Social-Democracy has long had to reckon.

August 1902.

First published in December 1902 in the pamphlet issued by the League of Russian Social-Democracy Abroad

Published according to the text in the pamphlet

THE DRAFT OF A NEW LAW ON STRIKES

We have come into possession of a new confidential document—the memorandum of the Ministry of Finance "On a revision of articles in the law which make strikes and breaches of contract of hire punishable, and on the desirability of instituting workers' organisations for purposes of mutual aid". In view of the length of this memorandum and the need to acquaint the broadest possible sections of the working class with it, we are publishing it as a separate pamphlet.[83] At present, however, we shall give a brief review of the contents of this interesting document and point out its importance.

The memorandum begins with a short survey of the history of our factory legislation, mentioning the Laws of June 3, 1886 and June 2, 1897,[84] and then proceeds to the question of the abolition of criminal liability for leaving employment and for striking. The Ministry of Finance is of the opinion that the threat of arrest or imprisonment for a worker's leaving work without permission or for a number of workers downing tools by agreement among themselves, fails in its purpose. Experience has shown that this does not ensure the maintenance of public order; this threat merely embitters the workers, convincing them of the injustice of the law. The enforcement of these laws is very difficult "in view of the extreme burdensomeness of instituting hundreds and sometimes thousands of proceedings" if every worker who leaves his job is to be tried, and also in view of the fact that it is unprofitable for the factory owner to lose workers if the latter are imprisoned for going on strike. Making strikes a criminal offence leads to inordinately

zealous interference by the police, which does more harm than good, bringing the employers more difficulties and trouble than relief. The memorandum proposes the complete abolition of the individual worker's liability for leaving a factory of his own accord, or for participating in peaceable strikes (unattended by violence or breaches of public law and order, etc.). Following the example of legislation abroad, penalties should be imposed only for "violence, threats, or *defamation* [!] practised by any employer or worker against the person or property of a third person with the object of compelling the latter, despite his free and lawful intentions, to work or to abstain from working" on certain terms. In other words, instead of criminal liability for participation in strikes the proposal is to make it a crime to interfere with "persons desiring to work".

As to the mutual aid societies, the Ministry of Finance complains of arbitrariness on the part of the administrative authorities (which, it claims, is particularly noticeable in Moscow where the Society of Mechanics[85] even claimed the right to "mediate" between workers and management), and demands legislative enactment of proper regulations for such societies and assistance in their organisation.

Thus, the general spirit of the new memorandum of the Ministry of Finance is undoubtedly liberal, and its main point is the proposal to abolish criminal liability for participation in strikes. We shall not analyse the contents of the entire "Bill" in detail here (it will be more convenient to do so after the memorandum has been published in full), but shall merely call the reader's attention to the nature and significance of this liberalism. The proposal to give the workers a certain right to strike and to organise is nothing new, not only in our liberal publicist writings but even in projects coming from official government commissions. In the early sixties, the Stackelberg Commission, which revised factory and artisan regulations, proposed that factory courts elected from among the workers and the employers be set up and that some freedom of organisation be granted the workers. In the eighties the commission charged with drafting a new criminal code proposed the abolition of criminal liability for participation in strikes. However, the present draft of the Ministry of

Finance differs substantially from the earlier projects, and this difference will remain an extremely important sign of the times even if the proposed new draft is pigeon-holed like all others before it. This essential difference consists in the fact that the new draft rests on an incomparably sounder foundation; in it you sense, not only the voice of a few progressive theorists and ideologists of the bourgeoisie, but the voice of an entire section of practical industrialists. This is no longer the liberalism of "humane" government officials and professors alone; it is the home-bred, native liberalism of the Moscow merchants and manufacturers. Let me say frankly that this fact fills my heart with a lofty patriotic pride: the twopenny-halfpenny liberalism of the merchant means much more than the shilling liberalism of the government official. And what is most interesting in the memorandum is not the nauseating talk about freedom of contract and the interests of the state, but the practical considerations of the manufacturers, which break right through the traditional juridical arguments.

This is intolerable! We're fed up! Keep out of it!— is what the Russian manufacturer is saying to the Russian police through the medium of the author of the ministerial memorandum. Just listen indeed to the following line of reasoning:

"To the police authorities, who find support in the vagueness and ambiguity of the existing law, every strike comes not as a natural economic phenomenon, but invariably as a breach of public law and order. If, however, a calmer attitude existed with regard to stoppages of work at factories, and strikes were not made synonymous with breaches of public order, it would be much easier to ascertain the true causes of such, to separate lawful and justifiable grounds from those that are unlawful and untenable and to take the necessary steps towards peaceful agreement between the two parties. Given a more normal state of affairs such as this, restrictive and repressive measures would be resorted to only when disorder was patently in evidence." The police do not go into the reasons for a strike; they are concerned *solely* with cutting it short, to which end they resort to one of two methods: either they force the workers (by arrests, deportation, and other measures "up to and in-

cluding the use of armed force") to return to work, or they prompt the employers to make concessions. "It cannot be said that either of these methods suits" Messrs. the Manufacturers: the former "embitters the workers", the latter "confirms the workers in the extremely harmful belief that a strike is the surest way of getting what they want in every case". "The history of strikes during the last decade affords many illustrations of the harm resulting from the efforts to suppress the resulting complications rapidly and at any cost. Hurriedly made arrests have at times so incensed workers who were completely calm until then that Cossacks had to be brought into action, and after that of course any satisfaction even of the legitimate demands of the strikers was out of the question. On the other hand, cases of prompt satisfaction of the workers' unlawful demands by means of pressure upon the manufacturers did not fail to evoke similar strikes in other industrial enterprises where it became necessary to resort to military force rather than to a system of concessions, which is sometimes entirely incomprehensible to the workers and strengthens their conviction that the authorities are unjust and despotic towards them...." That the police should ever satisfy even unlawful demands of the workers by means of pressure upon the manufacturers—that of course is a fancy of the Messrs. the Capitalists, who want to say that in some cases they themselves, after some bargaining with the strikers, would concede less than they have to concede under the pressure of the grim prospect of "breaches of state law and order". The memorandum has a dig at the Ministry of the Interior, which in its circular letter of August 12, 1897, "issued without agreement with the Ministry of Finance" (that is where the crux of the matter lies!), prescribes both arrest and deportation in every strike and demands that every case connected with strikes be dealt with as required by the emergency regulations. "The higher administrative authorities," continues the memorandum, setting forth the complaints of the manufacturers, "go still further [than the law] and flatly regard *all* [italics in the original] cases of strikes as matters of state importance.... Actually, however, every strike (of course if not accompanied by violence) is a purely economic phenomenon, which is quite natural and in no way jeopard-

dises public law and order. In these cases law and order should be maintained in the same way as during popular festivities, celebrations, performances, and like occasions."

This is the language of genuine Manchester Liberals, who proclaim that the struggle between capital and labour is a purely natural phenomenon, who with remarkable frankness put on a par "trade in commodities" and "trade in labour" (elsewhere in the memorandum), demand non-interference by the state, and assign to this state the role of night (and day) watchman. And, what is of particular importance, the Russian manufacturers have been compelled to adopt this liberal standpoint by none other than our workers. The working-class movement has spread so greatly that strikes have really become "natural economic phenomena". The workers' struggle has assumed such stubborn forms that interference by the police state, which prohibits all manifestations of this struggle, has really begun to prove harmful, not only to the workers (to whom it has, of course, never brought anything but harm), but even to the manufacturers themselves, on whose behalf this interference was practised. The workers actually deprived the police prohibitions of all force, but the police continued (and in an autocratic state could not but continue) to interfere and, feeling their impotence, kept going from side to side: from armed force to concessions, from savage reprisals to blandishments. The less effective police intervention proved, the more keenly did the manufacturers feel the *arbitrariness* of the police, the more inclined they were to believe that it *did not pay* them to support this arbitrariness. The conflict between a certain section of the big industrialists and the all-powerfull police became more and more intense, assuming particularly acute forms in Moscow, where the system of flirting with the workers had flourished most luxuriantly. The memorandum openly complains of the Moscow authorities, who were carrying on a dangerous game with workers' conferences and the workers' mutual aid society in the engineering industry. In order to decoy the workers it became necessary to grant the council of this society a certain right of mediation—and the manufacturers immediately began to kick. "At first this council," the memorandum says at

their dictation, "applied to the Factory Inspectorate, but, seeing that the latter did not recognise its right to act as mediator, a role which it had assumed on its own, it began to turn to the Chief of Police, who not only accepts the tendered statements, but acts on them in due course, thus sanctioning the rights which the council has arrogated to itself." The manufacturers are protesting against particular administrative decrees and demand the legislative enactment of a new system.

True, the manufacturers' liberalism has not ventured so far beyond the extremely narrow limits of their specific interests; their hostility to police arbitrariness is limited to individual cases of police excesses which are not to their advantage, and is not levelled against the mainstays of bureaucratic despotism. But, by aggravating the class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, the economic development of Russia and of the whole world will foster the growth of this hostility, provide greater grounds for it, and intensify it. The proletariat's strength lies precisely in the growth of its numbers and its solidarity as a result of the very process of economic development, while the interests of the big and petty bourgeoisie become more and more scattered and divided. To take into account this "natural" advantage of the proletariat, the Social-Democrats must closely watch all clashes of interests among the ruling classes, using these clashes, not only in order to gain practical advantages for one section or another of the working class, but also for the purpose of enlightening the entire working class, for the purpose of deriving a useful lesson from each new social and political incident.

The practical advantage which the workers stand to gain from the revision of the law proposed by the liberal manufacturers is too obvious to be dwelt on at length. It is an undoubted concession to a growing force, an abandonment by the enemy of one of his positions, which the revolutionary proletariat has practically captured already and which the more far-seeing leaders of the hostile army no longer care to defend. Of course, this is no big concession: first of all, it is ridiculous even to think that *real* freedom, the right to strike, is possible without political liberty. The police still retain the right to make arrests

and to deport without trial, and will retain that right so long as the autocracy continues to exist. And the retention of this right means preservation of nine-tenths of the police interference, the outrages, and the high-handedness, which are beginning to disgust even the manufacturers. Secondly, even in the narrow sphere of factory legislation itself, the Ministry of Finance is taking a very timid step forward, copying the German Bill which the German workers have dubbed the "Hard Labour" Bill,[86] and preserving *special* penalties "for violence, threats, or defamation" in connection with the contract of hire, as if *general* penal laws covering these offences did not exist! But the Russian workers will know how to utilise even this small concession so as to strengthen their positions, to intensify and extend their great struggle for the emancipation of working humanity from wage slavery.

As to the useful lesson taught us by the new memorandum, we must note primarily that the protest of the manufacturers against the medieval strike law affords us a small and particular example of the general incompatibility of interests between the developing bourgeoisie and moribund absolutism. This should give food for thought to those people who (like the Socialist-Revolutionaries) have hitherto timidly shut their eyes to the elements of *bourgeois* opposition in Russia and who continue to reiterate as of old that the "interests" (in general!) of the Russian bourgeoisie are satisfied. It turns out that police arbitrariness clashes now with some, now with other interests of even those sections of the bourgeoisie that are most directly *protected* by the tsarist police and are *threatened directly* with material loss by any loosening of the fetters placed on the proletariat.

It turns out that a real revolutionary movement disorganises the government, not only directly by the fact that it enlightens, rouses, and unites the exploited masses, but also indirectly by the fact that it cuts the ground from under antiquated laws, destroys the faith in the autocracy even of those who would seem to be its confederates, increases "family squabbles" among these confederates, and replaces firmness and unity in the camp of the enemy by dissension and wavering. But in order to achieve such results one condition is required, which our Socialist-Revolutionaries have

never been able to grasp: it is necessary that the movement should be truly revolutionary, i.e., that it should rouse to a new life ever broader sections of the really revolutionary class, that it should actually refashion the spiritual and political make-up of this class, and through it, of all those who come in contact with it. If the Socialist-Revolutionaries grasped this truth, they would understand what practical harm is wrought by their ideological poverty and the unprincipledness of their approach to the fundamental problems of socialism; they would understand that it is not the forces of the government but those of the revolution that are disorganised by people who preach that against the crowd the autocracy has its soldiers and against organisations—the police, whereas individual terrorists who remove ministers and governors are truly elusive.

The new "step" by the executive board of the manufacturers' henchmen affords us still another useful lesson. This lesson is that we must be able to make practical use of any liberalism, even of the twopenny-halfpenny variety, and that at the same time we must be on our guard lest this liberalism corrupt the masses with its false presentation of questions. An example is Mr. Struve, an interview with whom we could put under the heading: "How the liberals want to teach the workers and how the workers should teach the liberals." In No. 4 of *Osvobozhdeniye*, which has begun publication of the memorandum under analysis, Mr. Struve tells us, among other things, that the new draft is an expression of "statesmanship", which, he says, will scarcely succeed in breaking through the wall of arbitrariness and senselessness. No, Mr. Struve. It was not "statesmanship" that advanced the new strike Bill, but the manufacturers. This Bill has appeared, not because the state "recognised" the basic principles of civil law (the bourgeois "liberty and equality" of employers and workers), but because the abolition of criminal liability for participation in strikes has become *advantageous to the manufacturers*. The juridical formulations and wholly conclusive reasons now assigned by the Ministry of Finance "itself" (*Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 4, p. 50) existed long ago in Russian publications and even in the reports of government commissions, but it all remained buried in oblivion until the *captains of industry* raised their voices,

after the workers had *shown them in practice* how absurd the old laws were. We stress the decisive importance of the manufacturers' advantages and interests not because we believe that this diminishes the importance of the government schemes—on the contrary, we have already stated that this raises their importance in our eyes. But the proletariat must learn above all to look at things squarely and soberly in its struggle against the whole of the present-day system, to lay bare the real causes behind "lofty acts of state", and to expose unremittingly the false and high-sounding bombast about "statesmanship", etc., to which the sly police officials give utterance deliberately, and the learned liberals short-sightedly.

Further, Mr. Struve advises the workers to be "restrained" in their agitation for the abolition of criminal liability for participation in strikes. "The more restrained it [this agitation] will be in form," Mr. Struve preaches, "the greater its significance will be." The workers should cordially thank this former socialist for such advice. This is the traditional Molchalin[87] wisdom of the liberals—to preach restraint at the very time when the government has just begun to waver (on some particular question). More restraint is needed so as not to hinder implementation of the incipient reform, so as not to raise apprehensions, and to make use of the propitious moment when the first step has already been taken (a memorandum has been drawn up!) and when some government department's recognition of the necessity for reforms gives "irrefutable [?] proof both to the government and to society [!] of the justice and timeliness" (?) of these reforms. This is how Mr. Struve reasons with regard to the draft under discussion, and this is how the Russian liberals have always reasoned. However this is not how the Social-Democrats reason. Just look, they say, even some manufacturers have already begun to understand that the European forms of the class struggle are better than Asiatic police tyranny. Our stubborn fight has forced even the manufacturers to doubt the omnipotence of the myrmidons of the autocracy. Forward, then, more boldly! Spread more widely the glad tidings of irresolution in the enemy camp; take advantage of the slightest sign of wavering on the part of the enemy so as to increase your demands rather than "restrain" them in

the Molchalin manner. Against the debt the government owes to the people, they want to pay you one kopek in every hundred rubles. One payment of this kopek in order to demand in louder and louder terms the whole sum, to completely discredit the government and prepare our forces to deliver a decisive blow at it.

Iskra, No. 24, September 1, 1902

Published according to the *Iskra* text

A LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF *YUZHNY RABOCHY*[88]

Dear Comrades,

Your detailed letter has greatly gladdened us all. Please send us the promised supplement as soon as possible, and write oftener. We hope soon to send one of the comrades to you for more detailed and final talks; meanwhile we shall confine ourselves to the most important points.

You are right a thousand times over when you say that we must unite as soon as possible, indeed immediately, in a single all-Russian organisation, whose aim would be to prepare the ground for ideological unity among the committees and for the practical, organisational unity of the Party. We, for our part, have already taken a number of fairly important steps in this direction, thanks to the fact that the St. Petersburg Committee has come over fully to the *Iskra* point of view, published a statement to this effect, and *de facto* (this, of course, is strictly *entre nous**) merged with the *Iskra* organisation in Russia, and given its members very influential places in the committee's central group. If we succeed in getting the same complete solidarity and complete fusion with the South, the actual unification of the Party will be three-quarters on the way to accomplishment. This must be pushed ahead as fast as possible. We are taking steps immediately, first, to see to it that members of the *Iskra* organisation in Russia visit you for the purpose of coming to an agreement; second, to establish connections here with Chernyshov. For your part, hurry up the release (or publication in *Iskra*) of your statement of

* Between us.—*Ed.*

principles, fully defining your position in the Party, and take all steps towards actual fusion with the *Iskra* organisation in Russia.

In conclusion, a few words on the questions you have raised. Regarding the peasantry and the agrarian programme, we are not clear on precisely what you find unsatisfactory in our draft agrarian programme and what changes you would like. Let us know this more concretely. Have you seen No. 4 of *Zarya* with the article on the agrarian programme?* In general, your remarks about the mistakes made by *Iskra* show how important it is for us to communicate more frequently and regularly so as to achieve complete harmony. We have so devilishly few forces that only the closest unity of all Social-Democrats can ensure us success in the struggle against both the "adventurers" and the government. And yet we hitherto knew almost nothing about your standpoint, for instance, or about your practical work—is that normal? Besides, is it normal that you, for instance, are now taking steps on your own to establish permanent transport connections, while we are doing it likewise on our own? (Let us know in greater detail what steps you are taking, how and where, what are the means you have, etc.) This same circumstance, i.e., the shortage of forces, should be taken into account in considering the question of a special press organ, of continuing the publication of *Yuzhny Rabochy*, of changing it to *Russky Rabochy*. We must weigh all aspects of the matter with the utmost care. Just consider where we are to get the forces for two papers, when we know very well that we have not enough even for one. Won't you be giving St. Petersburg (the non-*Iskra*-ist elements in St. Petersburg) a stimulus to publish *Rabochaya Mysl* also as an "explanatory", popular, etc., paper? And this at a time when St. Petersburg is preparing to discontinue *Rabochaya Mysl* and at last get down to real work on *Iskra*. Won't your efforts to arrange regular contributions to *Iskra* from Russia suffer as a result of your plans—and you know that without this collaboration *Iskra* cannot become a genuine Party organ; don't forget either that, except for you, we have practically no one in view for this work. And if the *Iskra*-ists

* See pp. 105-48 of this volume.—*Ed.*

don't take this in hand, who will do so, and when? Finally, thrash out more thoroughly the question of whether the purposes of explanatory, propagandist, popular literature meant for the "average worker" (as you put it) are compatible with the purposes of a newspaper. That there must be literature specially designed for the average worker and the masses is indisputable; but this can be only in the form of leaflets and pamphlets, since it is *impossible* for a newspaper properly to *explain every* question to the average worker. For this we must begin from the *beginning*, with the ABC, and go straight through to the end, carefully and thoroughly examining all aspects of a question. A newspaper would scarcely be in a position to do this even if it were assured of ideal conditions with regard to literary forces. Don't forget, lastly, that what you do, whether you desire it or not, will be of all-Russian importance, and that all talk, notions, and theories about *special* papers "for the intelligentsia" and "for the workers" may play a most pernicious part, not only irrespectively of your desires, but even despite anything you may do to counteract it personally. After all, there is only a handful like you among the Russian Social-Democrats, while among the mass of the Russian Social-Democrats there is still a very great deal of narrow-mindedness of all kinds. We do not, of course, intend to limit ourselves to these cursory remarks on a question of such importance, but we only ask you not to unduly hasten your decision, and to discuss the matter from all angles. We consider it even *desirable* to preserve a separate group (the Editorial Board of *Yuzhny Rabochy*) at least until the Party congress, but this group should not be in a hurry with its paper.

Written on September 3 (16), 1902

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Published according to the manuscript

A LETTER TO A COMRADE ON OUR ORGANISATIONAL TASKS[89]

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1904

Россійская Соціальдемократическая Рабочая Партія.

Пролетаріи всѣхъ странъ, соединяйтесь!

Письмо къ товарищу

о нашихъ организаціонныхъ задачахъ

Н. Ленина

Изданіе Центральнаго Комитета Р. С.-Д. Р. Партіи.

ЖЕНЕВА
Типографія Партіи, Rue de la Coulouvrenière, 27.
1904

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet, *A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organisational Tasks*. 1904

Reduced

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet, A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organisational Tasks. 1904
Reduced

Dear Comrade,

It is with pleasure that I accede to your request for a criticism of your draft for the "Organisation of the St. Petersburg Revolutionary Party". (Most likely you meant the organisation of the work of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in St. Petersburg.) The question you have raised is so important that all members of the St. Petersburg Committee, and even all Russian Social-Democrats in general, should take part in its discussion.

First of all, let me express my complete agreement with your explanation of the unsuitableness of the former ("league type", as you term it) organisation of the "League". You refer to the lack of serious training and revolutionary education among the progressive workers, to the so-called elective system, which *Rabocheye Dyelo* supporters are championing so proudly and stubbornly on the grounds of "democratic" principles, and to the workers' alienation from active work.

That precisely is the case: 1) the lack of serious training and revolutionary education (not only among the workers, but among the intellectuals as well), 2) the misplaced and immoderate application of the elective principle, and 3) the workers' alienation from active revolutionary work—that is where the main shortcoming of the St. Petersburg organisation and of many other local organisations of our Party really lies.

I fully share your basic view on the organisational tasks, and also subscribe to your organisational plan, so far as I understand its general outlines from your letter.

Specifically, I wholly agree with you that special stress should be laid on the tasks connected with the work on an all-Russian scale and with the work of the Party as a whole;

in your draft this is expressed in Clause One, which reads: "The newspaper *Iskra*, which has permanent correspondents among the workers and close contact with the work within the organisation, is the leading centre of the *Party* (and not only of a committee or a district)." I should merely like to remark that the newspaper can and should be the *ideological* leader of the Party, evolving theoretical truths, tactical principles, general organisational ideas, and the general tasks of the whole Party at any given moment. But only a special central group (let us call it the Central Committee, say) can be the direct *practical* leader of the movement, maintaining *personal* connections with all the committees, embracing all the best revolutionary forces among the Russian Social-Democrats, and *managing* all the general affairs of the Party, such as the distribution of literature, the issuing of leaflets, the allocation of forces, the appointment of individuals and groups to take charge of special undertakings, the preparation of demonstrations and an uprising on an all-Russian scale, etc. Since the strictest secrecy of organisation and preservation of continuity of the movement is essential, our Party can and should have *two* leading centres: a C.O. (Central Organ) and a C. C. (Central Committee). The former should be responsible for ideological leadership, and the latter for direct and practical leadership. Unity of action and the necessary solidarity between these groups should be ensured, not only by a single Party programme, but also by the *composition of the two groups* (both groups, the C.O. and the C.C., should be made up of people who are in complete harmony with one another), and by the institution of regular and systematic joint conferences. Only then will the C.O., on the one hand, be placed beyond the reach of the Russian gendarmes and assured of consistency and continuity, while, on the other hand, the C.C. will always be at one with the C.O. on all essential matters and have sufficient freedom to *take* direct *charge* of all the practical aspects of the movement.

For this reason it would be desirable that Clause One of the Rules (according to your draft) should not only indicate which Party organ is recognised as the leading organ (that, of course, is necessary), but should also state that the given local organisation sets itself the task of working ac-

tively for the *creation*, support, and consolidation of those central institutions without which our Party cannot exist as a party.

Further, in Clause Two, you say that the committee should "direct the local organisation" (perhaps it would be better to say: "all local work and all the local organisations of the Party"; but I shall not dwell on details of formulation), and that it should consist of both workers and intellectuals, for to divide them into two committees is harmful. This is absolutely and indubitably correct. There should be only one committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, and it should consist of fully convinced Social-Democrats who devote themselves entirely to Social-Democratic activities. We should particularly see to it that as many workers as possible become fully class-conscious and professional revolutionaries and members of the committee.* Once there is a *single* and not a dual committee, the matter of the committee members *personally* knowing many workers is of particular importance. In order to take the lead in whatever goes on in the workers' midst, it is necessary to be able to have access to all quarters, to know very many workers, to have all sorts of channels, etc., etc. The committee should, therefore, include, as far as possible, all the principal *leaders* of the working-class movement from among the workers themselves; it should direct *all* aspects of the local movement and take charge of *all* local institutions, forces and means of the Party. You do not say how the committee should be set up—most likely, here too we shall agree with you that it is scarcely necessary to have special regulations about this; how to set up the committee is a matter for the Social-Democrats on the spot to decide. However, it should perhaps be pointed out that new members should be added to the committee by decision of a majority (or two-thirds, etc.) of its members, and that the committee should see to it that its list of contacts is placed in hands that are reliable (from the revolutionary standpoint) and safe (in the political sense), and that it prepares candi-

* We must try to get on the committee revolutionary workers who have the greatest contacts and the best "reputation" among the mass of the workers.

date-members in advance. When we have the C.O. and the C.C., new committees should be set up only with their co-operation and their consent. As far as possible, the committees should not have very many members (so that they consist of well-educated people, each well versed in the technique of his particular branch of revolutionary activity), but at the same time they should include a sufficient number to take charge of *all* aspects of the work, and to ensure full representation and binding decisions. Should it happen that the number of members is fairly large and that it is hazardous for them to meet frequently, it might then be necessary to select from the committee a special and very small *executive* group (consisting of, say, five, or even fewer persons), which should without fail include the secretary and those most capable of giving practical guidance to the work as a whole. It is *particularly important* that candidate-members be provided for this group so that the work should not have to stop in case of arrests. The activities of the executive group, its membership, etc., should be subject to approval by a general meeting of the committee.

Further, *after* the committee, you propose the following institutions under it: 1) discussion meetings (conferences of the "best" revolutionaries), 2) district circles with 3) a propagandists' circle attached to each of these, 4) factory circles, and 5) "meetings of representatives" of delegates from the factory circles of a given district. I fully agree with you that *all* further institutions (and of these there should be very many and extremely diversified ones, besides those mentioned by you) should be subordinated to the committee, and that it is necessary to have district groups (for the very big cities) and factory groups (always and everywhere). But I do not quite agree with you, it seems, on several details. For instance, with regard to "discussion meetings" I think that these are *wholly unnecessary*. The "best revolutionaries" should all be on the committee, or engaged in special work (printing, transport, agitational tours, the organisation, say, of a passport bureau, or of combat squads to deal with spies and *agents provocateurs*, or of groups in the army, etc.).

"Conferences" will be held in the committee and in each district, in each factory, propagandist, trade (weavers, me-

chanics, tanners, etc.), student, literary, etc., circle. Why should conferences be made a special institution?

Further. You quite justifiably demand that the opportunity to write to *Iskra* directly should be given to "everyone who wants it". Only "directly" should not be understood to mean that "everyone who wants it" should be given access to the editorial office or its address, but that it should be obligatory to hand over (or forward) to the editors letters from *all who so desire*. The addresses should, of course, be made known to a *fairly wide circle*; however, they should not be given to everyone who wants them, but only to revolutionaries who are reliable and known for their ability to observe the conditions of secrecy—perhaps even not to one person in each district, as you suggest, but to several. It is also necessary that all who take part in our work, each and every circle, *should have the right* to bring their decisions, desires and requests to the attention of the *committee*, *as well as* of the C.O. and C.C. If we ensure this, then *all conferences of Party functionaries* will have the benefit of *full information*, without instituting anything so cumbersome and contrary to the rules of secrecy as "discussion meetings". Of course, we should also endeavour to arrange *personal conferences* of the greatest possible number of all and sundry functionaries—but then here everything hinges on the observance of secrecy. General meetings and gatherings are possible in Russia only rarely and by way of exception, and it is necessary to be doubly wary about allowing the "best revolutionaries" to attend these meetings, since it is easier in general for *agents provocateurs* to get into them and for spies to trail some participant of the meeting. I think that perhaps it would be better to do as follows: when it is possible to organise a big (say, 30 to 100 people) general meeting (for instance, in the summer-time in the woods, or in a secret apartment that has been specially secured for this purpose), the committee should send one or two of the "best revolutionaries" and *make sure* that the meeting is attended by the proper people, i.e., for example, that invitations should be extended to as many as possible of the reliable members of the factory circles, etc. But these meetings should not officially go on record; they should not be put in the Rules, or held regularly; matters should not be arranged in

such a way that everyone who attends the meeting knows everyone else there, i.e., knows that everyone is a "representative" of a circle, etc.; that is why I am opposed, not only to "discussion meetings" but also to "meetings of representatives". In place of these two institutions I would propose a rule to the following effect. The committee must see to the organisation of big meetings of as many people as possible who are practical participants in the movement, and of the workers in general. The time, place, and occasion for the meeting and its composition are to be determined by the committee, which is responsible for the secret arrangement of such affairs. It is self-evident that the organisation of workers' gatherings of a less formal character at outings, in the woods, etc., is in no way restricted by this. Perhaps it would be even better not to say anything about this in the Rules.

Further, as regards the district groups, I fully agree with you that it is one of their most important tasks to organise the *distribution* of literature properly. I think the district groups should for the main part act as *intermediaries* between the committees and the factories, intermediaries and even mostly *couriers*. Their chief task should be the proper distribution of the literature received from the committee in accordance with the rules of secrecy. This is an extremely important task, for if we secure regular contact between a special district group of distributors *and all the factories* in that district, as well as the largest possible number of *workers' homes* in that district, it will be of enormous value, both for demonstrations and for an uprising. Arranging for and organising the speedy and proper delivery of literature, leaflets, proclamations, etc., training a network of agents for this purpose, means performing the *greater* part of the work of preparing for future demonstrations or an uprising. It is too late to start organising the distribution of literature at a time of unrest, a strike, or turmoil; this work can be built up only gradually, by making distributions *obligatory* twice or three times a month. If no newspapers are available, leaflets may and should be distributed, but the distributive machine must in no case be allowed to remain idle. This machine should be brought to such a degree of perfection as to make it possible to inform and mobilise, so to speak,

the whole working-class population of St. Petersburg overnight. Nor is this by any means a Utopian aim, provided there is a systematic transmission of leaflets from the centre to the narrower intermediary circles and from them to the distributors. In my opinion, the functions of the district groups should not be extended beyond the bounds of purely intermediary and transmission work, or, to put it more accurately, they should be extended only with the utmost caution—otherwise this can only increase the risk of discovery and be injurious to the integrity of the work. Of course, conferences to discuss all Party questions will take place in the district circles as well, but *decisions* on all general questions of the local movement should be made only by the committee. The district groups should be permitted to act independently only on questions concerning the technical aspect of transmission and distribution. The composition of the district groups should be determined by the committee, i.e., the committee *appoints* one or two of its members (or even comrades who are not on the committee) as delegates to this or that district and instructs them to *establish a district group*, all the members of which are likewise installed in office, so to speak, by the committee. The district group is a branch of the committee, deriving its powers only from the latter.

I now pass on to the question of propagandists' circles. It is hardly possible to organise such circles separately in every district owing to the scarcity of our propagandist forces, and it is hardly desirable. Propaganda must be carried on in one and the same spirit by the whole committee, and it should be strictly centralised. My idea of the matter is therefore as follows: the committee instructs several of its members to organise a group of propagandists (which will be a branch of the committee or *one of the institutions of the committee*). This group, using for the sake of secrecy the *services* of the district groups, should conduct propaganda *throughout the town*, and in all localities "within the jurisdiction" of the committee. If necessary, this group may set up subgroups, and, so to say, entrust certain of its functions to the latter, but all this can be done only with the sanction of the committee, which must always and unconditionally possess the right of detailing its delegate to any

group, subgroup, or circle which has any connection at all with the movement.

The same pattern of organisation, the same type of branches of the committee or its institutions, should be adopted for all the various groups serving the movement—students' groups in the higher and secondary schools; groups, let us say, of supporters among government officials; transport, printing, and passport groups; groups for arranging secret meeting places; groups whose job it is to track down spies; groups among the military; groups for supplying arms; groups for the organisation of "financially profitable enterprises," for example, etc. The whole art of running a secret organisation should consist in making use of *everything possible*, in "giving everyone something to do", at the same time retaining *leadership* of the whole movement, not by virtue of having the power, of course, but by virtue of authority, energy, greater experience, greater versatility, and greater talent. This remark is made to meet the possible and usual objection that strict centralisation may all too easily ruin the movement if the centre *happens* to include an *incapable* person invested with tremendous power. This is, of course, possible, but it cannot be obviated by the elective principle and decentralisation, the application of which is absolutely impermissible to any wide degree and even altogether detrimental to revolutionary work carried on under an autocracy. Nor can any rules provide means against this; such means can be provided only by measures of "comradely influence", beginning with the resolutions of each and every subgroup, followed up by their appeals to the C.O. and the C.C., and ending (if the worst comes to the worst) with the *removal* of the persons in authority who are absolutely incapable. The committee should endeavour to achieve the greatest possible division of labour, bearing in mind that the various aspects of revolutionary work require various abilities, and that sometimes a person who is absolutely useless as an organiser may be invaluable as an agitator, or that a person who is not good at strictly secret work may be an excellent propagandist, etc.

Incidentally, while on the subject of propagandists, I should like to say a few words in criticism of the usual practice of *overloading* this profession with incapable people

and thus lowering the level of propaganda. It is sometimes the habit among us to regard every student as a propagandist without discrimination, and every *youngster* demands that he should "be given a circle", etc. This must be countered because it does a great deal of harm. There are *very few* propagandists whose principles are invariably consistent and who are really capable (and to become such one must put in a lot of study and amass experience); such people should therefore be specialised, put wholly on this kind of work, and be given the utmost care. Such persons should deliver several lectures a week and be sent to other towns when necessary, and, in general, capable propagandists should make tours of various towns and cities. But the mass of young beginners should be given mainly practical assignments, which are somewhat neglected in comparison with the students' conduct of circles, which is optimistically called "propaganda". Of course, thorough training is also required for serious practical enterprises; nevertheless, work in this sphere can more easily be found for "beginners" too.

Now about the factory circles. These are particularly important to us: the main strength of the movement lies in the organisation of the workers at the *large* factories, for the large factories (and mills) contain not only the predominant part of the working class, as regards numbers, but even more as regards influence, development, and fighting capacity. Every factory must be our fortress. For that every "factory" workers' organisation should be as secret internally as "ramified" externally, i.e., in its outward relationships, it should stretch its feelers as far and in as many directions as any revolutionary organisation. I emphasise that here, too, a group of revolutionary workers should necessarily be the core, the leader, the "master". We must break completely with the traditional type of purely labour or purely trade-union Social-Democratic organisation, *including* the "factory" circles. The factory group, or the factory (mill) committee (to distinguish it from other groups of which there should be a great number) should consist of a very small number of *revolutionaries*, who take their instructions and receive their authority to carry on all Social-Democratic work in the factory *directly from the committee*. Every member of the factory committee should regard himself as an

agent of the committee, obliged to submit to all its orders and to observe all the "laws and customs" of the "army in the field" which he has joined and from which in time of war he has no right to absent himself without official leave. The composition of the factory committee is therefore a matter of very great importance, and one of the chief duties of the committee should be to see to the proper organisation of these subcommittees. This is how I picture it: the committee instructs certain of its members (plus, let us say, certain workers who for some reason or other have not been included in the committee, but who can be very useful by reason of their experience, knowledge of people, intelligence, and connections) to organise factory subcommittees everywhere. This group consults with the district representatives, arranges for a number of meetings, thoroughly checks candidate-members of the factory subcommittees, subjects them to close cross-examination, where necessary puts them to the test, endeavouring personally to examine and verify the *largest possible* number of candidate-members of the subcommittee of the factory in question, and, finally, submits a list of members for each factory circle to the committee for approval, or proposes that authority be given to some designated worker to set up, nominate or select a complete subcommittee. In this way, the committee will also determine which of these agents is to maintain contact with it *and how* the contact is to be maintained (as a general rule, through the district representatives, but this rule may be supplemented and modified). In view of the importance of these factory subcommittees, we must see to it as far as possible that *every* subcommittee is in possession of an address to which it can direct its communication to the C.O. and of a *repository* for its list of contacts in some safe place (i.e., that the information required for the immediate re-establishment of the subcommittee in the event of arrests is transmitted as regularly and as fully as possible to the Party centre, for safekeeping in a place where the Russian gendarmes are unable to get at it). It is a matter of course that the transmission of addresses must be determined by the committee at its own discretion and on the basis of the facts at its disposal, and not on the basis of some non-existent right to a "democratic" allocation of these addresses.

Finally, it is perhaps not superfluous to mention that it may sometimes be necessary, or *more convenient*, to confine ourselves to the appointment of one agent from the committee (and an alternate for him) instead of a factory subcommittee consisting of several members. As soon as the factory subcommittee has been formed it should proceed to organise a number of factory groups and circles with diverse tasks and varying degrees of secrecy and organisational form, as, for instance, circles for delivering and distributing literature (this is one of the most important functions, which must be organised so as to provide us with a real postal service of our own, so as to possess tried and tested methods, not only for distributing literature, but also for delivering it to the homes, and so as to provide a definite knowledge of all the workers' addresses and ways of reaching them); circles for reading illegal literature; groups for tracking down spies*; circles for giving special guidance to the trade-union movement and the economic struggle; circles of agitators and propagandists who know how to initiate and to carry on long talks in an *absolutely legal* way (on machinery, inspectors, etc.) and so be able to speak safely and publicly, to get to know people and see how the land lies, etc.** The factory subcommittee should endeavour to embrace the whole factory, the largest possible number of the workers, with a network of all kinds of circles (or agents). The success of the subcommittee's activities should be measured by the abundance of such circles, by their accessibility to touring propagandists and, above all, by the correctness of the regular work done in the *distribution of literature* and the collection of information and correspondence.

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* We must get the workers to understand that while the killing of spies, *agents provocateurs*, and traitors may sometimes, of course, be absolutely unavoidable, it is highly undesirable and mistaken to make a system of it, and that we must strive to create an organisation which will be able to render spies *innocuous* by exposing them and tracking them down. It is impossible to do away with all spies, but to create an organisation which will ferret them out and *educate* the working-class masses is *both possible and necessary*.

** We also need combat groups, in which workers who have had military training or who are particularly strong and agile should be enrolled, to act in the event of demonstrations, in arranging escapes from prison, etc.

To sum up, the general type of organisation, in my opinion, should be as follows: a committee should be at the head of the entire local movement, of all the local Social-Democratic activities. From it should stem the institutions and branches subordinate to it, such as, first, *the network of executive agents* embracing (as far as possible) the whole working-class mass and organised in the form of *district* groups and factory (mill) subcommittees. In times of peace this network will be engaged in distributing literature, leaflets, proclamations and the secret communications from the committee; in times of war it will organise demonstrations and similar collective activities. Secondly, the committee will also branch out into circles and groups of all kinds serving the whole movement (propaganda, transport, all kinds of underground activities, etc.). All groups, circles, subcommittees, etc., should enjoy the status of committee institutions or branches of a committee. Some of them will openly declare their wish to join the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and, if endorsed by the committee, will join the Party, and will assume definite functions (on the instructions of, or in agreement with, the committee), will undertake to obey the orders of the Party organs, receive the same rights as all Party members, and be regarded as immediate candidates for membership of the committee, etc. Others will not join the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, and will have the status of circles formed by Party members, or associated with one Party group or another, etc.

In all *internal* matters, members of *all* these circles are of course on an equal footing, as are all members of a committee. The only exception will be that the right of *personal* contact with the local committee (as well as with the C.C. and the C.O.) will be reserved solely to the person (or persons) appointed for that purpose by the committee. In all other respects, this person will be on an equal footing with the rest, who will also have the right to present statements (but not in person) to the local committee and to the C.C. and C.O. It follows that the exception indicated will not at all be an infraction of the principle of equality, but merely a necessary concession to the absolute demands of secrecy. A member of a committee who fails to transmit

a communication of his "own" group to the committee, the C.C. or the C.O., will be guilty of a direct breach of Party duty. Further, the degree of secrecy and the organisational form of the various circles will depend upon the nature of the functions: accordingly, the organisations will be most varied (ranging from the "strictest", narrowest, and most restricted type of organisation to the "freest", broadest, most loosely constituted, and open type). For instance, strictest secrecy and military discipline must be maintained in the distributing groups. The propagandists' groups must also maintain secrecy, but be under far less military discipline. Workers' groups for reading legal literature, or for organising discussions on trade-union needs and demands call for still less secrecy, and so on. The distributing groups should belong to the R.S.D.L.P. and know a certain number of its members and functionaries. The groups for studying labour conditions and drawing up trade-union demands need not necessarily belong to the R.S.D.L.P. Groups of students, officers, or office employees engaged in self-education *in conjunction with* one or two Party members should in some cases not even be aware that these belong to the Party, etc. But in one respect we must *absolutely* demand the *maximum degree of organisation* in all these branch groups, namely, that every Party member belonging to such a group is formally responsible for the conduct of work in the group and is obliged to take *every* measure in order that the composition of each of these groups, the whole *mechanism* of its work, and the content of that work should be *known as fully as possible* to the C.C. and the C.O. That is necessary in order that the centre may have a *complete* picture of the whole movement, that the selection for various Party posts may be made from the widest possible circle of people; that all groups of a similar nature throughout Russia may learn from one another (through the medium of the centre), and that warning may be given in the event of the appearance of *agents provocateurs* or suspicious characters—in a word, that is absolutely and vitally necessary in all cases.

How is it to be done? By submitting regular reports to the committee, by transmitting to the C.O. as much of the contents as possible of as large a number of reports as possible, by arranging that members of the C.C. and the local

committee visit the various circles, and, finally, by making it *obligatory* to hand over the list of contacts with these circles, i.e., the names and addresses of several members of each circle, for safekeeping (and to the Party bureau of the C.O. and the C.C.). Only when reports are submitted and contacts transmitted will it be possible to say of a Party member belonging to a given circle that he has done his duty; only then will the Party as a whole be in a position *to learn* from every circle that is carrying on practical work; only then will arrests and dragnets lose their terror for us, for if contacts are maintained with the various circles it will always be easy for a delegate of our C.C. to find substitutes *immediately* and have the work resumed. The arrest of a committee will then not destroy the whole machine, but only remove the leaders, who will always have candidates ready. And let it not be said that the transmission of reports and contacts is impossible because of the need to maintain secrecy: once there is the desire to do so, it is always, and *will always*, be possible to hand over (or forward) reports and contacts, so long as we have committees, a C.C. or a C.O.

This brings us to a highly important principle of all Party organisation and all Party activity: while *the greatest possible centralisation* is necessary with regard to the ideological and practical *leadership* of the movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, *the greatest possible decentralisation* is necessary with regard to keeping the Party centre (and therefore the Party as a whole) *informed* about the movement, and with regard to *responsibility* to the Party. The leadership of the movement should be entrusted to the smallest possible number of the most homogeneous possible groups of professional revolutionaries with great practical experience. Participation in the movement should extend to the greatest possible number of the most diverse and heterogeneous groups of the most varied sections of the proletariat (and other classes of the people). The Party centre should always have before it, not only exact information regarding the activities of each of these groups, but also the *fullest possible information regarding their composition*. We must centralise the leadership of the movement. We must also (and *for that very reason*, since without information centralisation is impossible) as far as possible

decentralise responsibility to the Party on the part of its individual members, of every participant in its work, and of every circle belonging to or associated with the Party. This decentralisation is an essential prerequisite of revolutionary centralisation and an *essential corrective to it*. Only when centralisation has been carried through to the end and when we have a C.O. and a C.C., will it be possible for every group, however small, to communicate with them—and not only communicate with them, but to do so *regularly* as a result of a system established by years of experience—only then will the possibility of grievous consequences resulting from an accidentally unfortunate composition of a local committee be eliminated. Now that we are coming close to actual unity in the Party and to the creation of a real leading centre, we must well remember that *this centre will be powerless* if we do not at the same time introduce the *maximum of decentralisation* both with regard to responsibility to the centre and with regard to keeping it informed of all the cogs and wheels of the Party machine. This decentralisation is nothing but the reverse side of the *division of labour* which is generally recognised to be one of the most urgent practical needs of our movement. No official recognition of a given organisation as the leading body, no setting-up of a formal C.C. will make our movement really united, or create an enduring militant Party, if the Party centre continues to be *cut off* from direct practical work by the local committees of the old type, i.e., by committees such as are, on the one hand, made up of a regular jumble of persons, each of whom carries on all and every kind of work, without devoting himself to some definite type of revolutionary work, without assuming responsibility for some special duty, without carrying through a piece of work to the end, once it has been undertaken, thoroughly considered and prepared, wasting an enormous amount of time and energy in radicalist noise-making, while, on the other hand, there is a great mass of students' and workers' circles, half of which are altogether unknown to the committee, while the other half are just as cumbersome, just as lacking in specialisation, just as little given to acquiring the experience of professional revolutionaries or to benefiting from the experience of others, just as taken

up with endless conferences "about everything", with elections and with drafting rules, as the committee itself. For the centre to be able to work properly, the local committees *must reorganise themselves*; they must become specialised and more "business-like" organisations, achieving real "perfection" in one or another practical sphere. For the centre not only to advise, persuade, and argue (as has been the case hitherto), but really conduct the orchestra, it is necessary to know exactly who is playing which fiddle, and where and how; where and how instruction has been or is being received in playing each instrument; who is playing out of tune (when the music begins to jar on the ear), and where and why; and who should be transferred, and how and where to, so that the discord may be remedied, etc. At the present time—this must be said openly—we either know nothing about the *real internal* work of a committee, except from its proclamations and general correspondence, or we know about it from friends or good acquaintances. But it is ridiculous to think that a huge Party, which is capable of leading the Russian working-class movement and which is preparing a general onslaught upon the autocracy, can limit itself to this. The number of committee members should be cut down; each of them, wherever possible, should be entrusted with a definite, special and important function, for which he will be held to account; a special, very small, directing centre must be set up; a network of executive agents must be developed, linking the committee with every large factory, carrying on the regular distribution of literature and giving the centre an exact picture of this distribution and of the entire mechanism of the work; lastly, numerous groups and circles must be formed, which will undertake various functions or unite persons who are close to the Social-Democrats, who help them and are preparing to become Social-Democrats, so that the committee and the centre may be constantly informed of the activities (and the composition) of these circles—these are the lines along which the St. Petersburg, and all the other committees of the Party, should be reorganised; and this is why the question of Rules is of so little importance.

I have begun with an analysis of the draft Rules in order to bring out the drift of my proposals more clearly. And as

a result it will, I hope, have become clear to the reader that in fact it would perhaps be possible to get along *without Rules*, substituting for them regular reports about each circle and every aspect of the work. What can one put in the Rules? The committee guides the work of everyone (this is clear as it is). The committee elects an executive group (this is not always necessary, and when it is necessary it is not a matter of Rules but of *informing* the centre of the composition of this group and of the candidate-members to it). The committee distributes the various fields of work among its members, charging every member to make regular reports to the committee and to keep the C.O. and C.C. informed about the progress of the work (here, too, it is more important to inform the centre of whatever assignments have been made than to include in the Rules a regulation which *more frequently than not* will go by the board because of scarcity of our forces). The committee must specify exactly who its members are. New members are added to the committee by co-optation. The committee appoints the district groups, factory subcommittees and certain groups (if you wish to enumerate them you will never be done, and there is no point approximately in enumerating them in the Rules; it is sufficient to inform the centre about their organisation). The district groups and subcommittees organise the following circles.... It would be all the less useful to draw up such Rules at present since we have practically no general Party experience (and in many places none whatever) with regard to the activities of the various groups and subgroups of this sort, and in order to acquire such experience what is needed is not Rules but the organisation of Party information, if I may put it in this way. Each of our local organisations now spends at least a few evenings on discussing Rules. If instead, each member would devote this time to making a detailed and well-prepared report *to the entire Party* on his particular function, the work would gain a hundredfold.

And it is not merely because revolutionary work does not always lend itself to definite organisational form that Rules are useless. No, definite organisational form is necessary, and we must endeavour to *give such form* to all our work as far as possible. That is permissible to a much greater

extent than is generally thought, and achievable not through Rules but solely and exclusively (we must keep on reiterating this) through transmitting exact information to the Party centre; it is only then that we shall have real organisational form connected with real responsibility and (inner-Party) publicity. For who of us does not know that *serious* conflicts and differences of opinion among us are actually decided not by vote "in accordance with the Rules", but by struggle and threats to "resign"? During the last three or four years of Party life the history of *most* of our committees has been replete with such internal strife. It is a great pity that this strife has not assumed definite form: it would then have been much more instructive for the Party and would have contributed much more to the experience of our successors. But no Rules can create *such* useful and essential definiteness of organisational form; this can be done solely through *inner-Party publicity*. Under the autocracy we can have no other means or weapon of inner-Party publicity than keeping the Party centre regularly informed of Party events.

And only after we have learned to apply this inner-Party publicity on a wide scale shall we actually be able to amass experience in the functioning of the various organisations; only on the basis of such extensive experience over a period of many years shall we be able to draw up Rules that will *not be mere paper Rules*.

POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND POLITICAL CHICANERY

At present it seems that the home policy of the Russian Government can least of all be accused of insufficient resoluteness and clarity. The fight against the enemy at home is in full swing. Hardly ever has there been a time when fortresses, prisons, police stations, and even private homes and apartments temporarily converted into lock-ups have been so crammed with persons under arrest. There is no room for all those who have been seized; it is impossible to send all the exiles to Siberia by the usual "means of transportation", without equipping extraordinary "expeditions"; there are neither the forces nor the means for instituting a uniform regime for all prisoners, and the wholly arbitrary behaviour of the distraught and tyrannical local authorities especially rouses the indignation of the prisoners and drives them to protest, struggle, and hunger-strikes. The higher authorities, however, while leaving it to the small fry to deal with the internal enemies already in custody, are zealously continuing their labours to "improve" and reorganise the police with a view to striking further against the very roots and branches. It is war pure and simple, and it is not only becoming apparent to ever greater masses of the Russian population, but is actually being more or less directly felt by them. The vanguard of police and gendarmerie flying squads are slowly but surely followed by the heavy artillery of the law. Take the laws of the preceding month, and the first things to strike you are the new ukases which destroy the last vestiges of Finland's liberties, and in addition, perhaps, the extensive law on mutual aid societies for the nobility. The first of these measures completely undermines the independence of the Finnish courts and Senate,

making it possible for the Governor-General to know everything, to control everything, i.e., actually converting Finland into one of those numerous Russian provinces which enjoy no rights and are abased. From now on, remarks *Finlandskaya Gazeta*, the police-controlled government newspaper, there is hope for the "harmonious" activity of all local institutions.... I am at a loss to say whether this is a malicious sneer at an unarmed foe who has been dealt a most foul and deliberate blow, or unctuous twaddle in the spirit of "Judas" Golovlyov.[90]

The second of the laws mentioned above is the latest offspring of the same Select Committee for Affairs of the Nobility, which has already blessed the fatherland with the looting of Siberian lands ("the imposition of landed proprietorship in Siberia").[91] At a time of severe commercial and industrial crisis and complete impoverishment in the countryside, when millions of workers and peasants are prey to hunger, malnutrition, and distress, it is of course impossible even to imagine a better way of using the people's money than for hand-outs to the unfortunate landed gentry. First, the government will grant to each mutual aid society for the nobility a certain lump sum ("at the discretion of His Majesty the Emperor"!), and, secondly, over a period of ten years it will grant them as much again as members of the local nobility will themselves contribute. The societies will assist those who have difficulty in paying interest on loans. The gentlemen of the nobility need have no compunction about accepting loans when they have been shown such an easy way of getting money for payments from the pockets of the people.

And as if deliberately to sum up this policy of persecution, violence, and plunder, to generalise and consecrate it, there came the tsar's addresses to the nobility, Zemstvoists, peasants, and workers (in Kursk and St. Petersburg). The tsar thanked the nobility for the service it had rendered him, service "dictated by conscience rather than by fear", and promised to display ceaseless concern in the promotion of landed proprietorship, "which constitutes the age-old pillar of law and order and of the moral strength of Russia". To the Zemstvoists the tsar said nothing at all either about a pillar, or about the moral strength of

Russia, or about service dictated by conscience rather than by fear. He told them briefly and plainly that their "mission is to organise local efforts in the sphere of economic requirements", and that only if they bore this in mind, only if they discharged this mission successfully, could they be assured of his graciousness. This was an absolutely definite answer to the constitutional yearnings of the Zemstvoists, a direct warning (or, to be more exact, challenge) to them, a threat to withhold his "graciousness" in the event of the slightest transgression on their part beyond the bounds of "local efforts in the sphere of economic requirements".

Further, to the peasants the tsar openly expressed censure for the "disturbances" and the "plunder of estates", describing as "merited punishment" the brutal beating and torture of the muzhiks who had risen in hunger and desperation, and recalling the words of Alexander III, who had enjoined them to "obey the Marshals of the Nobility". Lastly, to the workers the tsar spoke neither more nor less than "about enemies", *his* enemies, who should also be the enemies of the workers.

And so, the noblemen are the faithful servants and the age-old pillar of law and order. The Zemstvoists (or Zemstvo noblemen?) get a warning. The peasants too are censured and are commanded to obey the noblemen. The workers are faced squarely with the question of *enemies*. Instructive speeches. It is instructive to compare them, and it would be most desirable to acquaint as many people as possible both with the exact text and the real meaning of these speeches, through the medium of proclamations, leaflets, and talks in study circles and at meetings. Simple explanatory notes to the text of these speeches would serve as splendid material for agitation among the most unenlightened part of the most backward sections of the working class, the small traders and manufacturers, and the peasantry. And not only the "ignorant", but also many an enlightened and educated Russian citizen would also benefit by careful pondering over the tsar's speeches—especially from among the liberals in general and among the Zemstvoists in particular. It is not often that one hears from the lips of royalty such an explicit avowal, confirmation, and declaration of war at home: war

of the various classes of the population, war against domestic enemies. And an open avowal of war is an excellent remedy against all and sundry forms of political chicanery, i.e., attempts to gloss over, evade and hush up the war, or attempts to constrict and dwarf its nature.

The political chicanery to which we refer is exhibited both by the government and the peaceful opposition, and occasionally even by the revolutionaries (although it is true that in the case of the latter it assumes a special form which does not resemble the former). On the part of the government it is deliberate enticement, bribery, and corruption, in short, a system that has come to be known as "Zubatovism". Promises of more or less extensive reforms, actual readiness to carry out the tiniest fraction of what has been promised, and the demand to refrain from political struggle in return for this—such is the essence of Zubatovism. Now even some of the Zemstvoists already see that the parleys between Mr. Plehve, Minister of the Interior, and Mr. D. N. Shipov (Chairman of the Moscow Zemstvo Board) constitute the beginning of "Zemstvo Zubatovism". Plehve promises to deal "more favourably" with the Zemstvo (cf. *Osvobozhdeniye*, No. 7), promises to convene a conference of chairmen of Zemstvo Boards early next year for "settling all questions concerning the functioning of Zemstvo institutions", demanding in return that the Zemstvoists "say nothing about representation in the higher government bodies". It would appear that the matter is as clear as can be: the promise is most indefinite, while the demand is such that, if it is complied with, the Zemstvoists' yearnings cannot be realised. Against this political deceit, trickery, and corruption there is only one remedy: merciless exposure of the tricksters, and a resolute political (i.e., in Russian conditions, *revolutionary*) struggle against the police autocracy. Judging by *Osvobozhdeniye*, our Zemstvoists, however, are not yet equal to this task. They reply to political chicanery in kind, and their mouthpiece betrays utter instability. In No. 7 of *Osvobozhdeniye* this instability is particularly glaring owing to the fact that opinions on the question at issue are voiced not only by the editors but also by several contributors with whom the editors more or less disagree. In the editorial, the view

that Plehve's promises are a trap and an expression of Zubatovism is given only as the opinion of a few Zemstvoists, and right next to this we are given the opinion of other Zemstvoists who "are inclined to follow the minister's instructions" (!!). The editors are far from the idea of launching a campaign against Zemstvo Zubatovism. They have cautioned the Zemstvoists against "concessions" to the government (in Nos. 5 and 6), but they do not come out with a resolute condemnation of Mr. Shipov and Co., who have heeded the advice of the old police fox and deleted from the agenda of the spring congress of the Zemstvo Point 4 (which dealt with the necessity of supplementing the Select Committee on the Needs of the Agricultural Industry with elected Zemstvo representatives). The conclusion drawn by the editors in their leading article is not that the Zemstvo is degraded because part of the Zemstvoists have fallen for the police's vile bait, but because the very fact of negotiations between the government and the Zemstvo "proves that the Zemstvo is now already a 'representative body'" (!!) and that the "congress" promised by Mr. Plehve (it seems to me Mr. Plehve spoke only about a "conference"?) "is desirable in any case", since it "cannot but clear up the relations between the Zemstvo and the government". The editors are "firmly convinced that the Zemstvoists will behave at the congress as befits them—as representatives of the people, and not as assistants to the ministers in the economic sphere". If one judges solely by this leading article, one must, on the contrary, be firmly convinced that the Zemstvoists will again act as "assistants" of the police authorities, as Messrs. Shipov and Co. have done (until another Zemstvo trend thrusts them aside, or refashions them).

A welcome relief from the political chicanery in this leading article is offered by further articles from contributors: Mr. Anton Staritsky's and even more so the article of the Zemstvo Councillor Mr. T. The former calls the action of Mr. Shipov and Co. a "false step", advises the Zemstvoists "not to be hasty in thinking that some sort of congress arranged by Mr. Plehve will confirm them in their birthright", advises them not to fall for the bait, and refrain from political chicanery. The editors comment: "On

the whole we agree with the author of this article", evidently in the opinion that, in particular, political chicanery should not be condemned so one-sidedly.*

The second contributor, however, openly rebels against the entire stand of *Osvobozhdeniye*, attacking its incompleteness and irresolution, condemning such false language as, for instance, references to "the people's anarchy", and declaring that "it is impossible to rest content with half-measures, that it is necessary to decide to go on to the very end", that "it is necessary to have done with the servile half-measures of the legal opposition..." "stopping at no sacrifice", that "unless we become revolutionaries, we [Zemstvoists] will be unable to contribute anything substantial to the cause of the political emancipation of Russia". From the bottom of our hearts we welcome these honest and firm statements by the Zemstvo councillor and earnestly advise everyone who takes an interest in the problem under examination to make a study of them. He *fully* confirms the appraisal of the *Osvobozhdeniye* programme given by us in *Iskra*. More than that: his article shows not only the correctness of our point of view, but also the expediency of our sharp exposure of the half-heartedness of liberalism. It appears that among the Zemstvoists themselves there are people who are repelled by shilly-shallying of any sort and whom we must make special efforts to support by ruthlessly criticising such shilly-shallying from our standpoint.

The editor of *Osvobozhdeniye*, of course, does not agree with Zemstvo Councillor T. and—respectfully but firmly—declares: "We see many things in a different light...." To say the least! And what then are the objections of the editors? They boil down to two main points: firstly, Mr. Struve prefers peaceful paths "on principle", in contrast, as he believes, to some revolutionaries; secondly, he accuses the latter of insufficient tolerance. Let us examine these objections.

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* In No. 8 of *Osvobozhdeniye*, which we have just received, we already have a more resolute condemnation of political chicanery and Mr. Shipov's false step. Good! Perhaps the incident with this respected personage will induce the editors to look for the roots of "political chicanery" in their fundamental views about the relations between liberalism and the revolutionary trends?

In an article headed "Apropos of a Reproach" Mr. Struve (the article is over his signature.—*Ed.*) quotes my article in No. 2-3 of *Zarya* ("The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism"). What displeased him particularly, of course, were the words: "if, for once at least, the people taught the government a good lesson" it would be of "enormous historical significance".* You see, Mr. Struve decidedly and categorically disagrees that violent revolution is preferable to peaceful reform. The most resolute Russian revolutionaries, he says, preferred the peaceful path on principle, and no doctrines whatever can stifle this glorious tradition.

It is difficult to conceive of anything more fallacious and laboured than this argument. Does Mr. Struve really fail to understand that a slave who has risen in revolt is morally entitled to speak about the preferability of peace with the slaveowner, whereas a slave who renounces rebellion sinks into shameful hypocrisy when he repeats the very same words? "The elements of revolution in Russia are, unfortunately *or fortunately*, not yet ripe", says Mr. Struve, and this word "fortunately" shows him up completely.

As for the glorious traditions of revolutionary thought, Mr. Struve would be well advised to keep silent on this score. We need only refer to the famous closing words of the *Communist Manifesto*.[92] We need only recollect that thirty years after the publication of the *Manifesto*, when the German workers were deprived of a portion of the rights which the Russian people have never had, Engels retorted to Dühring in the following words:

"To Herr Dühring force is the absolute evil; the first act of force is to him the original sin; his whole exposition is a jeremiad on the contamination of all subsequent history consummated by this original sin; a jeremiad on the shameful perversion of all natural and social laws by this diabolical power, force. That force, however, plays also another role in history, a revolutionary role; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one, that it is the instrument with the aid

* See present edition, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

of which social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilised political forms—of this there is not a word in Herr Dühring. It is only with sighs and groans that he admits the possibility that force will perhaps be necessary for the overthrow of the economic system of exploitation—unfortunately, because all use of force, forsooth, demoralises the person who uses it. And this in spite of the immense moral and spiritual impetus which has been given by every victorious revolution! And this in Germany, where a violent collision—which indeed may be forced on the people—would at least have the advantage of wiping out the servility which has permeated the national consciousness as a result of the humiliation of the Thirty Years' War. And this parsons' mode of thought—lifeless, insipid and impotent—claims the right to impose itself on the most revolutionary party that history has known!"[93]

Let us proceed to the second point, dealing with tolerance. What we need is "mutual understanding", "complete frankness", and "great tolerance" in relations between the various trends, we are unctuously instructed by Mr. Struve (like many Socialist-Revolutionaries and exponents of public opinion). Well, and what should we do, we ask him, if our complete frankness will seem to you to be lack of tolerance? If we, for example, find that *Osvobozhdeniye* has a right hand and a left hand, a pernicious and treacherous left hand, does not complete frankness make it incumbent upon us to wage ruthless battle against this left hand? Does not such frankness oblige us to fight against the adventurism (and political chicanery) of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, when they display it both in questions of the theory of socialism and in the attitude they have towards the class struggle in all their tactics? Is there even the slightest trace of political sense in the demand to water down this struggle and to render it innocuous for the sake of that which the very people this struggle is directed against are pleased to term tolerance?

It is high time to dispense with your tawdry show of naïveté, gentlemen! High time to understand the simple truth that it is not political chicanery, not what the late Stepnyak[94] once called self-restriction and self-concealment, not the conventional lie of diplomatic mutual recognition

that ensure a genuine (and not merely an alleged) joint struggle against the common enemy, but actual participation in the struggle, actual unity in struggle. When the struggle of the German Social-Democrats against the military-police and feudal-clerical reaction really became one with the struggle of any genuine party which relied for support upon a definite class of the people (for instance, the liberal bourgeoisie), then joint action was instituted without any phrase-mongering about mutual recognition. One does not talk about recognising a fact that is obvious to everyone and felt by everyone (we, for instance, do not ask anyone to recognise the working-class movement!). Only people who confuse politics with political chicanery can think that the "tone" of polemics can interfere with a genuine political alliance. But so long as we have evasive talk instead of genuine participation in our struggle, so long as we have only adventurist tactics instead of a genuine advance towards our struggle on the part of some other social stratum or class, no spate of threatening or miserable words will bring "mutual recognition" one iota nearer.

Iskra, No. 26, October 15, 1902

Published according to the *Iskra* text

FROM MAO TO MAO
NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

CONCERNING DEMONSTRATIONS[95]

It seems to us that the writer of the letter raises the question rather too bluntly and underestimates the significance of organised demonstrations. We have as yet done little in this important matter, and our efforts must be concentrated mainly and primarily on organisation. As long as we lack solidly united revolutionary organisations capable of mustering several detachments of picked people to direct all aspects of a demonstration, so long will failures be inevitable. Once an organisation like that takes shape and gains strength in the process of work, through a number of experiences, then it (and it alone) will be able to decide the question as to when and how it is necessary to arm, and when and how arms should be used. This organisation will also have to give serious attention to the question of raising "the speed of mobilisation" (a very important circumstance quite rightfully emphasised by the writer of the letter), of increasing the number of active demonstrators, training marshals for demonstrations, extending agitation among the masses, drawing "the crowd of onlookers" "into the work", and of "corrupting" the troops. Precisely because a step like the transition to armed street fighting is a "tough" one and because it is "inevitable, sooner or later", it can and should be taken only by a strong revolutionary organisation which *directly* leads the movement.

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Published for the first time

Published according
to the manuscript

VULGAR SOCIALISM AND NARODISM AS RESURRECTED BY THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES

Ridicule has its good effects. In the articles entitled "Revolutionary Adventurism",* we expressed the firm conviction that our Socialist-Revolutionaries would never agree to state their theoretical position in unambiguous and precise terms. To refute so malignant and unjust a suggestion a series of articles has been started in No. 11 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* under the title "Questions of Programme". Good! Better late than never. We welcome in advance all articles in *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* on "questions of programme" and we promise close attention directed towards ascertaining whether it will actually be possible to extract any *programme* from them.

With this end in view, let us examine the first article, "The Class Struggle in the Countryside", but we shall first remark that when our opponents say (No. 11, p. 6) "our programme has been set out", they are once more being unduly ... "carried away". You must admit, gentlemen, that this is not true! You have not yet set out any programme, i.e., you have not only failed to produce a complete exposition of your views as officially endorsed by the Party (a programme in the narrow sense of the word, or at least a draft programme), but you have not even defined in the least your attitude towards such fundamental "questions of programme" as the question of Marxism and opportunist criticism of it, or the question of Russian capitalism, and of the position, significance, and tasks of the proletariat which

* See pp. 184-205 of this volume.—*Ed.*

that capitalism has called into being, and so on. All we know of "your programme" is that you occupy an altogether indefinite position *between* revolutionary Social-Democracy and the opportunist trend on the one hand, and *between* Russian Marxism and Russian liberal Narodism on the other.

We shall now show you, using the issue you have taken up, the kind of inextricable contradictions you are entangled in, as a result of this laboured attempt to sit between two stools. "It is not that we fail to understand, but we deny that the present-day peasantry as a whole belongs to the petty-bourgeois strata," writes *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (No. 11). "We regard the peasantry as being sharply divided into two fundamentally different categories: 1) the working peasantry which lives by the exploitation of its own labour-power [!??] and 2) the rural bourgeoisie—middle and petty—which to a greater or lesser extent lives by the exploitation of the labour-power of others." The Socialist-Revolutionary theoreticians, who consider that the "essential distinguishing feature" of the bourgeois class is its "source of income" (use of the unpaid labour of others), discover "tremendous similarity in principles" between the rural proletariat and the "independent farmers" who live by applying their own labour to the means of production. "Labour, as a definite category of political economy, is the basis of the existence of both groups. This is one point. Another is that under present conditions both are *mercilessly exploited*." Consequently, they must be put into a *single* category of the working peasantry.

We have deliberately presented the arguments of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* in such detail in order to enable the reader to ponder over them and to appraise their theoretical premises. That these premises are without foundation is patent. To look for the fundamental distinguishing feature of the various classes of society in their sources of income is to give precedence to relations of distribution, which in reality are only a consequence of relations of production. This error was long ago pointed out by Marx, who described as vulgar socialists those who failed to see it. The fundamental criterion by which classes are distinguished is the place they occupy in social production, and, consequently,

the relation in which they stand to the means of production. Appropriation of one part or another of the social means of production and its application to private enterprise, to undertakings organised for the sale of the product, is the fundamental distinction of one class in present-day society (the bourgeoisie) from the proletariat, which is deprived of the means of production and sells its labour-power.

To proceed: "*Labour*, as a definite category of political economy, is the basis of the existence of both groups." It is not labour that is a definite category of political economy, but only the social form of labour, the social organisation of labour, or, in other words, the mutual relations of people arising out of the part they play in social labour. The same mistake in vulgar socialism, which we have analysed above, is repeated here in another form. When the Socialist-Revolutionaries say: "In essence, the relations between farmer and farm-labourer, on the one hand, and between independent peasants and the money-lenders, the kulaks, on the other, are exactly the same," they are reproducing in its entirety the mistake of, say, German vulgar socialism, which, in the person of Mühlberger, for example, stated that in essence the relations between employer and worker are the same as those between house owner and tenant. Our Mühlbergers are equally incapable of distinguishing between the basic and the derivative forms of exploitation, and confine themselves to declamations on the subject of "exploitation" in general. Our Mühlbergers are equally incapable of understanding that it is precisely the exploitation of wage-labour that forms the basis of the whole predatory system of today, that it is the exploitation of wage-labour that leads to the division of society into irreconcilably opposed classes, and that only from the point of view of *this* class struggle can all other manifestations of exploitation be consistently gauged, without lapsing into vagueness and abandoning all principles. Our Mühlbergers must therefore meet from those Russian socialists who value the integrity of their movement and the "good name" of their revolutionary banner a rebuff just as decisive and merciless as that which the German Mühlberger met.

To give a clearer idea of how muddled our Socialist-Revolutionaries' "theory" is, we shall approach the ques-

tion under discussion from its practical aspect and try to illustrate it by concrete examples. In the first place, the vast majority of the petty bourgeoisie is everywhere and always *working* and being exploited. Otherwise, why should it be classed among transitional and intermediate strata? In the second place, small artisans and tradesmen are *working* and being exploited in a commodity-producing society in exactly the same way as the peasants are. Perhaps our Socialist-Revolutionaries would like to create also a "category" of "working" trade-and-industrial population instead of the "narrow" category of the proletariat? Thirdly, in order that the Socialist-Revolutionaries may appreciate the importance of the "dogma" they so dislike, let them try to visualise a peasant living near some town, who, without hiring any hands, lives by his own labour and by the sale of all kinds of agricultural produce. We make bold to hope that even the most ardent Narodniks will not venture to deny that *this* sort of peasant belongs to the petty bourgeoisie and that it is impossible to "unite" him in the same *class* (mark you, we are talking of a class, not of a party) with the wage-workers. But is there any difference in principle between the position of this kind of commercial farmer and that of any small farmer in a society of a developing commodity economy?

The question now arises how can we account for the fact that Messrs. the Socialist-Revolutionaries are (to put it mildly) drawing closer to vulgar socialism? May it not be a chance peculiarity in this particular writer? To refute this supposition it will suffice to quote the following passage from No. 11 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*, where the writer exclaims: "As if it were all a matter of the size of one and the same economic category" (the big and petty bourgeois) "and not of a difference in principle" (just listen to that!) "between two categories, viz., labour economy and bourgeois capitalist economy!" It would be difficult for us even to imagine a more complete and obvious confirmation of what we said in our article, "Revolutionary Adventurism": scratch a Socialist-Revolutionary and you find Mr. V. V. This sentence alone is enough to explain the Socialist-Revolutionaries' position to anyone at all familiar with the evolution of Russian social and political thought. It

is a known fact that at the bottom of the pale-pink quasi-socialism which used to embellish (and still embellishes) liberal Narodism, the trend prevalent in our educated society, lay the idea that peasant "labour economy" and bourgeois economy are diametrically opposed. This idea, various shades of which have been elaborated in detail by Messrs. Mikhailovsky, V. V., Nik.—on, and others, was one of the strongholds that Russian Marxism directed its criticism against. If, we said, you want to help the peasantry, which is being ruined and oppressed, you must be able to abandon illusions and squarely face the reality that is destroying the nebulous dreams about labour economy (or "people's production"?) and revealing to us the *petty-bourgeois character* of peasant economy. In Russia, as everywhere else, small-scale labour economy can be developed and consolidated only by turning into petty-bourgeois economy. This transformation is actually in progress, and the working peasant's *true* and real tendency towards small enterprise has been irrefutably confirmed by the facts of life. As commodity economy develops, our peasants, like all small producers and by the very fact that they are such, come under the category of petty bourgeois: they break up into a minority of entrepreneurs and a mass of proletarians; the latter are connected with the "petty proprietors" by a series of transitional stages of being half-workers and half-proprietors (such transitional forms exist in all capitalist countries and in all branches of industry).

What then has been the attitude of the Socialist-Revolutionaries towards the supplanting of one trend of socialist thought by another, towards the struggle between the old Russian socialism and Marxism? They simply tried to evade making a thorough analysis of the question as long as they could. And when such evasion was no longer possible, when those who wanted to form a separate "party" were asked to give a clear explanation, when they were forced to reply, forced by derision and by a direct accusation of a lack of principle, only then did these people take to reiterating the old Narodnik theory of "labour economy" and the old errors of vulgar socialism. We repeat: we could not have wished for better confirmation of the charge we brought against the Socialist-Revolutionaries, viz., of utterly

lacking principle, than this article in No. 11, which attempts to "unite" the theory of "labour economy" with the theory of the class struggle.

* * *

As a curiosity, we will add that in No. 11 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* attempts are made to give a "plausible" explanation of the decision to avoid all polemics on matters of principle. We are told that *Iskra* misquotes in its article, "Revolutionary Adventurism". An example? It omits, for example, the words "in certain places" (in certain places the land is passing from capital to labour). How dreadful! An irrelevant phrase has been omitted! Or, perhaps, *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* will dare assert that the words "in certain places" have a relation, *even the slightest*, to the question of *appraising* the process of the passing of land *in general* (whether or not it is a bourgeois process)? Let it try.

Further. *Iskra* cut the quotation short at the words "by the state", although this is followed by "of course, not by the present state". *Iskra* (we will add) was even more malicious: it had the impudence to term this state a *class* state. Will our opponents who "have been stung to the quick" assert that the state spoken of in the "minimum programme" under examination is not a class state?

Lastly, *Iskra* quoted the leaflet of April 3, in which even *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya itself* found the appraisal of terrorism exaggerated. Yes, we *did* quote the reservation made by *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*, but we added that we regarded all this as mere "juggling" and vague hints. *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* was greatly displeased by this, and has set out to explain and give details (thereby confirming *in fact* that there was an obscurity which required explanations). What are its explanations? At the demand of the Party, you see, *amendments* were made in the leaflet of April 3. These amendments, however, "were considered inadequate", and for that reason the words "in the name of the Party" were deleted from the leaflet. But the words "published by the Party" remained, and the second (the "real") leaflet, which was brought out on the same date,

April 3, did not say a word about differences or exaggerations. Having given these explanations and realising that they only confirm the legitimacy of *Iskra* 's demand for an explanation (in the words "juggling and hints"), *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* asks itself the question: how could the Party have issued from its own press a leaflet with which is was not in agreement? The answer given by *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* is as follows: "Why, in exactly the same way as *Rabocheye Dyelo*, *Iskra*, *Rabochaya Mysl*,[96] and *Borba*[97] all appear with the imprint of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party." Very well. But, in the first place, we have publications of different kinds, and they are printed not at the "Party" print-shop, but at the print-shops of the various groups. In the second place, when *Rabochaya Mysl*, *Rabocheye Dyelo*, and *Iskra* all appeared at the same time we ourselves said that this was *confusion*. What follows from that? It follows that the Social-Democrats themselves lay bare and brand confusion *in their own ranks* and try to get rid of it through serious work on theory, whereas the Socialist-Revolutionaries begin to admit that there is confusion in their ranks only *after* they have been exposed, and take the opportunity once again to boast of their broad-mindedness, which permits them to issue, on the same day and on the occasion of the same political event, two leaflets in which they give two diametrically opposite interpretations of the political significance of this event (a new terroristic act). Knowing as they do that no good can come of ideological confusion, the Social-Democrats preferred "first to draw a line of demarcation and then to unite",* thereby ensuring both durability and fruitfulness of the future unity. But the Socialist-Revolutionaries, while interpreting their "programme" in different ways, each at his own sweet will,**

* See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 354.—*Ed.*

** You have only to compare *Our Tasks*, published by the former League of Socialist-Revolutionaries, with the Manifesto of the former Socialist-Revolutionary Party (see No. 5 of *Iskra*) then with the editorial statement in No. 1 of *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii*, the programme articles in Nos. 7-11 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* and the pamphlet *Freedom*, published by the so-called Workers' Party for the Political Liberation of Russia, whose fusion with the Socialist-Revolutionary Party was recently announced in *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*.

maintain the fiction of "practical" unity and superciliously say to us: it is only among you, Social-Democrats, that various "groups" exist; we have—a party! Quite true, gentlemen, but history teaches us that sometimes the relations between "groups" and parties are like the relations between Pharaoh's lean kine and fat kine. All sorts of "parties" exist. For example there was a Workers' Party for the Political Liberation of Russia and yet its two years of existence passed as tracelessly as its disappearance did.

Iskra, No. 27, November 1, 1902

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ON THE TASKS OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT[98]

When hypocritical flirting with both the working class and the "legal" opposition goes hand in hand with action on the part of a horde of infuriated scoundrels of the type of Val or Obolensky,[99] it means that the government wants to corrupt and split up those masses and sections of the people which it is powerless to break, and in order to facilitate its task it wants to divert the revolutionary forces, small as their number is, to hunt down each of these scoundrels. It does not matter whether one representative or another of the government is aware of this in general, or how well he is aware of it. What matters is that the tactics to which the government is impelled by all its immense political experience and police instinct, *really* has this significance. When the revolutionary movement permeates the truly revolutionary classes of the people, moreover, when it grows in depth and extent, holding out the promise of developing soon into an invincible force, then the government finds it advantageous to provoke the best revolutionary forces to hunt after mediocre leaders of most outrageous violence. But we must not allow ourselves to be provoked. We must not lose our heads at the very first peals of really revolutionary thunder coming from the people, cast all caution to the winds, and, to ease mind and conscience, eschew all the experience of Europe and the experience of Russia, all more or less definite socialist convictions, all claims to fundamentally consistent, and not adventurist, tactics. In short, we must not allow realisation of an attempt to restore the Narodnaya Volya movement and to repeat all its theoretical and practical

mistakes that the Socialist-Revolutionaries have undertaken and persist in furthering more and more. Our answer to efforts made to corrupt the masses and provoke the revolutionaries must not be given in a "programme" which would open the door wide to the most harmful old mistakes and to new ideological waverings, or in tactics that would tend to deepen the isolation of the revolutionaries from the masses, which is the main source of our weakness and of our incapacity to start a determined struggle at once. We must answer by strengthening the contact between the revolutionaries and the people, and this contact can be established in our time only by developing and strengthening the Social-Democratic labour movement. Only the working-class movement rouses that truly revolutionary and advanced class which has nothing to lose from the collapse of the existing political and social order, the class which is the final and inevitable product of that order, the class which alone is the unquestionable and uncompromising enemy of that order. Only by relying upon the theory of revolutionary Marxism, upon the experience of international Social-Democracy, can we bring about the fusion of our revolutionary movement with the labour movement and create an invincible Social-Democratic movement. Only in the name of a real workers' party can we, without losing faith in our convictions, call on all the progressive elements in the country to join in revolutionary work, call on all working, all suffering and oppressed people to support socialism.

Written in November 1902

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THE BASIC THESIS AGAINST THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES

The basic thesis I am advancing against the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and for an appraisal of *all* aspects of the activities (and of the whole essence) of this trend is as follows: *the entire trend of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and their party as a whole, is nothing but an attempt by the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia at escamotage of our working-class movement, and, consequently, the whole of the socialist and the whole of the revolutionary movement in Russia.*

Let me explain at once why, in this thesis which is so important to me, I could not avoid employing a rare foreign word no doubt incomprehensible to most readers. Escamotage means deception, fraudulent appropriation of the results of the labour of others and thus rendering this labour useless, trickery, swindling, etc. It is not difficult to see why I had to reject these Russian words and choose a foreign word instead. The words "to trick, fool, deceive" are invariably associated in our minds with the idea of a deliberate, conscious lie—that in the first place, and in the second, with the idea of self-seeking, dishonest motives on the part of those who resort to this lie. Yet I am far from the idea of accusing the Socialist-Revolutionaries of anything resembling a conscious lie or dishonest motives. Nothing of the kind. I have no doubt that as a trend, as a "party", the Socialist-Revolutionaries could have originated (or could have survived since the days of the Narodnaya Volya), that they could have grown and gained some strength of late, thanks *entirely* to the fact that they attracted people

doubtlessly revolutionary-minded and even quite prepared for heroic self-sacrifice, people in all sincerity willing to lay down their lives in the interests of freedom and the interests of the people. But the fact that people adhere sincerely and by conviction to a certain social and political stand does not in any way predetermine whether this stand is not absolutely false and internally contradictory. Would not the results of the best-intended activity based on this stand prove to be (even though unconsciously and against the will of those who conduct it) "escamotage" of the working-class movement, diverting it from the correct course, decoying it into an impasse, etc.?

I shall try to illustrate my idea by an example. Imagine that we are in a huge, dark, humid, and dense semi-virgin forest. Imagine that only by burning down this forest is it possible to prepare the way for the cultivation of the entire area covered by the forest or surrounded by it, and that it is extremely difficult to procure fire and to sustain it in this forest. It is necessary to dry the timber which is available everywhere in abundance but which catches fire with difficulty, the fire dying easily again and again in the oppressively humid atmosphere. It is necessary to get together the material to be set alight. It is necessary to maintain the fire (combustion), to protect it, to nurture every flash of fire, to let the flame grow, preparing systematically and stubbornly the general conflagration without which the damp and dark forest will not cease to be a forest. This work, however, is very difficult, not only because of the external, atmospheric, conditions, but also because of the great scarcity of the only suitable material which can burn, which cannot cease burning under any circumstances, which has really caught fire and is burning continuously, with a steady flame unlike the numerous flickering lights which lack intrinsic power and which in the past so often flashed into being only to die out after burning for a short time. And now, when this basic inflammable material has begun to burn so well as to cause a general rise in the temperature, thereby lending strength and brightness to a mass of other, flickering little flames, people suddenly appear and declare with an overweening air: how narrow-minded one

must be to believe in the antiquated dogma about the only basic, the only unquestionably reliable inflammable material! How stereotyped it is to consider all the other little flares merely as by-products, as auxiliary elements, and to think it absolutely necessary to cling first of all and most of all to this *one* material, at any cost! How one-sided it is to keep on endlessly preparing, preparing and preparing the real general conflagration and to allow those outrageous scoundrels, the tree-tops, to shelter and maintain the dampness and gloom. What should be done is to fire flares which will knock down the tree-tops, singe them, frighten all the dark forces and produce such a sensation, such a stir, encouragement and excitation. And these people get to work briskly. With a sigh of relief they heave overboard the antiquated prejudices about some kind of basic inflammable material. With a calm conscience they accept into their ranks all and sundry, without inquiring into their views and opinions, convictions and aspirations: we are a party of action, and it does not matter to us even if some of us have adopted arguments which tend to extinguish the fire. They call boldly for an undiscriminating attitude towards all kinds of little flames and towards the firing of flares, brushing aside with contempt the lessons of the past; now, they say, there is a great deal more inflammable material, and there fore sheer light-mindedness is permissible!... And so, despite the harm people of this kind are causing to the movement, can it be thought that they are ordinary deceivers? Nothing of the kind! They are not deceivers at all, but simply pyrotechnists!

That, incidentally, is my answer to those Socialist-Revolutionaries who have simply interpreted the term "adventurer" as "swindler" (Mr. Rafailov in Geneva) or "rogue" (Mr. Zhitlovsky in Berne). Gentlemen, I told them, you should not necessarily interpret everything in terms of the criminal code. The adventurism of a revolutionary trend, an internally contradictory, unprincipled, unstable trend which conceals emptiness behind high-sounding promises and is therefore inevitably doomed to bankruptcy, should not be confused with the adventurism of rogues who know very well that they are committing punishable offences and that they are in danger of being exposed for swindling. We

have accused you of adventurism, stating plainly and concretely (see Nos. 23 and 24 of *Iskra**) that it stems from your utter lack of principle in all the basic questions of international socialism, from the incredible muddle of views in your hastily concocted agrarian programme served out to the "consumer" under a savoury dressing, from the shakiness and groundlessness of your terrorist tactics. And you reply: look here, we are called adventurers, rogues, swindlers; we are offended, insulted! But these cries, esteemed gentlemen, seem very much to imply that in essence you have nothing to object to.

It may now be asked: where is the proof of the correctness of my thesis? What distinguishing, characteristic features of the entire Socialist-Revolutionary trend should I demonstrate in order to justify the appraisal of the entire trend given in this thesis? If this appraisal is correct, then (it is to be hoped) there is no socialist in the least conscientious and serious who would deny the need for a determined and merciless war against this trend, for its harmfulness to be completely exposed to the widest possible sections of the people. And so, to be able to dig down to the essence of this question and analyse it from every aspect, I suggest that attention be directed mainly and primarily to what should constitute the *answers* to this question. Let those who wish to disprove the correctness of the appraisal not confine themselves to "complaints" or "amendments", but answer just as plainly: what are the points which *they* think require proof in order to corroborate the correctness of the thesis I advanced?

The central point of this thesis (escamotage of the working-class movement by the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia) is the fact of escamotage, or, in other words, the fundamental contradiction between the principles, the programme of the "party", and its actual attitude towards the process of revolutionising present-day society. The contradiction lies in the fact that in reality the party of "Socialist-Revolutionaries" does not at all adhere to the standpoint of scientific revolutionary socialism (= Marxism) in questions relating to either the international or the Russian work-

* See pp. 184-205 of this volume.—*Ed.*

ing-class movement. In actual fact, the characteristic feature of this "party" is utter lack of principle in all most important fundamental questions of modern socialism.*

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* Here the manuscript breaks off.—*Ed.*

NEW EVENTS AND OLD QUESTIONS

To all appearances the brief "lull" which has marked our revolutionary movement for the past six to nine months, as distinguished from its previous rapid and stormy development, is drawing to a close. However brief this "lull" may have been, however obvious it has been to every careful and informed observer that the absence (for so short a time) of open manifestations of mass indignation among the workers by no means signifies a stop in the growth of this indignation both in depth and in extent, numerous voices have nevertheless been raised among our intelligentsia—who are revolutionary in spirit but frequently have neither firm ties with the working class nor a sound foundation of definite socialist convictions—expressing despondency and a lack of faith in the mass working-class movement, on the one hand, and, on the other, calling for a repetition of the old tactics of individual political assassinations as a necessary and obligatory method of political struggle at the present time. During the few months that have elapsed since the demonstrations of the previous season, a "party" of "Socialist-Revolutionaries" has had time to arise in our country, and has begun to declaim loudly that demonstrations have a discouraging effect, that "the people, alas, are still a long way off", and that it is easy, *of course*, to speak and write of arming the masses, but that now it is necessary to get down to "individual resistance" without trying to wriggle out of the urgent necessity of individual terror by obsolete references to one and the same old task (so dull and "uninteresting" to the intellectual who is free from "dogmatic" faith in the working-class movement!) of carrying on agitation among the proletarian masses and organising a mass onslaught.

But what at first sight seemed a most ordinary and "common place" strike suddenly broke out in Rostov-on-Don and

led to events which manifestly demonstrated the utter stupidity and harmfulness of the Socialist-Revolutionaries' attempt to restore the Narodnaya Volya movement with all its theoretical and tactical mistakes. The strike, which involved many thousands of workers and began with demands of a purely economic nature, rapidly developed into a political event, despite the extreme dearth of organised revolutionary forces participating in it. Crowds of people which, according to some participants, numbered between twenty and thirty thousand, held astonishingly serious and well-organised political meetings where Social-Democratic leaflets were read and eagerly discussed, political speeches were delivered, the most casual and untrained representatives of the working people were told the elementary truths of socialism and the political struggle, and practical and "object" lessons were given on how to deal with the soldiers and how to appeal to them. The authorities and the police lost their heads (perhaps partly because the soldiers could not be relied on?) and for several days proved unable to interfere with the organising of open-air political mass gatherings, the like of which had never before been seen in Russia. When armed force was finally brought in, the crowd offered desperate resistance, and the murder of a comrade served as the occasion for a political demonstration at his funeral the following day.... The Socialist-Revolutionaries, however, most likely see the thing in a different light; from their standpoint it would perhaps have been "more expedient" if the six comrades murdered in Rostov had given their lives in an attempt on the lives of individual police tyrants.

We, however, are of the opinion that it is only such mass movements, in which mounting political consciousness and revolutionary activity are openly manifested to all by the working class, that deserve to be called *genuinely revlutionary* acts and are capable of really encouraging everyone who is fighting for the Russian revolution. What we see here is not the much-vaunted "individual resistance", whose only connection with the masses consists of verbal declarations, publication of sentences passed, etc. What we see is genuine resistance on the part of the crowd; and the lack of organisation, unpreparedness and spontaneity

of this resistance remind us how unwise it is to exaggerate our revolutionary forces and how criminal it is to neglect the task of steadily improving the organisation and preparedness of this crowd, which is waging an actual struggle before our very eyes. The only task worthy of a revolutionary is to learn to elaborate, utilise and make our own the material which Russian life furnishes in only too great sufficiency, rather than fire a few shots in order to create pretexts for stimulating the masses, and material for agitation and for political reflection. The Socialist-Revolutionaries cannot find enough praise of the great "agitational" effect of political assassinations, about which there is so much whispering both in the drawing-rooms of the liberals and in the taverns of the common people. It is nothing to them (since they are free of all narrow dogmas on anything even approximating a definite socialist theory!) to stage a political *sensation* as a substitute (or, at least, as a supplement) for the political education of the proletariat. We, however, consider that the *only* events that can have a real and serious "agitational" (stimulating), and not only stimulating but also (and this is far more important) educational, effect are events in which the masses themselves are the actors, events which are born of the sentiments of the masses and not staged "for a special purpose" by one organisation or another. We believe that even a hundred regicides can never produce so stimulating and educational an effect as this participation of tens of thousands of working people in meetings where their vital interests and the links between politics and these interests are discussed, and as this participation in a struggle, which really *rouses* ever new and "untapped" sections of the proletariat to greater political consciousness, to a broader revolutionary struggle. We are told of the disorganisation of the government (which has been obliged to replace Messrs. the Sipyagins by Messrs. the Plehves and to "select" the vilest scoundrels to serve it), but we are convinced that to *sacrifice* one revolutionary, even in exchange for ten scoundrels, means only disorganising our own ranks, which are thin as it is, so thin that they cannot keep up with all that is "demanded" of them by the workers. We believe that the government is truly disorganised when, and only when, the broad masses, genuinely

organised by the struggle itself, plunge the government into a state of confusion; when the legitimacy of the demands of the progressive elements of the working class becomes apparent to the crowd in the street and begins to be clear even to part of the troops called out for the purpose of "pacification"; when military action against tens of thousands of the people is preceded by wavering among the authorities, who have no way of really knowing what this military action will lead to; when the crowd see and feel that those who have fallen on the field of civil war are their comrades, a part of themselves, and are filled with new wrath and a desire to grapple more decisively with the enemy. Here it is no longer some scoundrel, but the existing system as a whole that comes out as the enemy of the people, against whom are arrayed the local and the St. Petersburg authorities, the police, the Cossacks, and the troops, to say nothing of the gendarmes and the courts which, as ever, supplement and complete the picture in every popular uprising.

Yes, uprising. However far the beginning of what seemed to be a strike movement in a remote provincial town was from a "genuine" uprising, its continuation and its finale nevertheless evoke involuntary thoughts of an uprising. The prosaic motive for the strike and the minor nature of the demands presented by the workers throw into particularly bold relief, not only the mighty power of the solidarity of the proletariat, which at once saw that the railway workers' struggle was the common cause of the proletarians, but also its receptiveness of political ideas and political propaganda, and its readiness to defend with might and main, in open battle with the troops, those rights to a free life and free development which all thinking workers have already come to consider common and elementary. And the Don Committee was a thousand times right when it declared in its proclamation, "To All Citizens", which we print in full elsewhere in this issue, that the Rostov strike was one of the steps towards a general upsurge among the Russian workers with the demand for political liberty.[100] In events of this sort we really see with our own eyes how an armed uprising of the whole people against the autocratic government is maturing, not only as an idea in the minds and programmes of the revolutionaries, but also as the inevitable, natural

and practical *next* step of the movement itself, as the result of the growing indignation, growing experience, and growing boldness of the masses, who are being given such valuable lessons, such a splendid education by the realities of Russian life.

An inevitable and natural step, I have said—and I hasten to make the reservation: *if only* we do not permit ourselves to depart by a single step from the impending and pressing task of assisting these masses, who have already begun to rise, to act more boldly and concertedly; of giving them not a couple but dozens of open-air speakers and leaders; of creating a real, militant organisation capable of guiding the masses, and not a so-called "combat organisation" that guides elusive individuals (if it does guide them at all). That this is a difficult task goes without saying, but we can quite justifiably adapt Marx's words which have so frequently and so ineptly been quoted of late, and say: "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen" individual attempts and cases of resistance, more important than a hundred organisations and "parties" belonging only to the intelligentsia.[101]

Besides the Rostov fighting, the penal sentences passed on demonstrators are outstanding among recent political events. The government has decided to use every possible method of intimidation, from floggings to penal servitude. And what a splendid reply it received from the workers, whose speeches in court we give below[102]; how instructive this reply is to all those who were especially loud in their outcries about the discouraging effect of demonstrations, not because they wanted to encourage further work in this direction, but because they wanted to preach much-vaunted individual resistance! These speeches, coming as they do from the very thick of the proletariat, are excellent commentaries on events like those in Rostov, and, at the same time, they are remarkable statements ("public manifestations", I would say if this were not so specifically police terminology), imbuing with boundless vigour the long and difficult work for the "real" steps of the movement. What is remarkable in these speeches is the simple, authentically precise description of how the most everyday facts, occurring in *scores and hundreds of millions*, of the "misery,

oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation" of the workers in present-day society lead to the awakening of their consciousness, to their growing "revolt", to a revolutionary expression of this revolt (I have put in quotation marks the words I *had* to use in describing the speeches of the Nizhni-Novgorod workers, for they are the famous words which Marx uses in the last pages of the first volume of *Capital*, and which evoked such clamorous and unsuccessful attempts on the part of the "critics", opportunists, revisionists, etc., to refute the Social-Democrats and accuse them of not telling the truth).

For the very reason that these speeches came from ordinary workers by no means advanced in their development, workers who did not even speak as members of any particular organisation, but simply as men in the crowd, for the very reason that they stressed not their personal convictions but facts from the life of every proletarian or semi-proletarian in Russia, for that very reason their conclusions are so inspiring: "that is why we consciously went to the demonstration against the autocratic government." The ordinariness and "mass character" of the facts from which they drew their conclusions are a guarantee that thousands, tens and hundreds of thousands, can and inevitably will come to the same conclusion, provided we prove capable of continuing, extending, and strengthening systematic, theoretically consistent, and all-round revolutionary (Social-Democratic) influence over them. We are ready to be condemned to penal servitude for fighting against political and economic slavery now that we have felt the breath of liberty, said four workers from Nizhni-Novgorod. And thousands of workers in Rostov, who for several days won for themselves the right to hold political gatherings, fighting off a series of attacks on the part of the soldiers against the unarmed crowd, repeated after them as it were: we are ready to face death.

By this sign shall ye conquer, is all that remains for us to say to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear.

Iskra, No. 29, December 1, 1902

Published according to the *Iskra* text

TO SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS[103]

Welcoming whole-heartedly the energetic initiative of the students, we on our part give them the following comradely advice. Try to concentrate your efforts on self-education as the main purpose of your organisation, in order to develop into convinced, steadfast, and consistent Social-Democrats. Draw the strictest possible line of demarcation between this extremely important and essential preparatory work and direct practical activity. On joining (and *before* joining) the ranks of the army in the field try to establish closest (and most secret) contacts with the local or all-Russian Social-Democratic organisations, so as not to be alone when you begin your work, so as to be able to continue what has already been done before, rather than begin all over again, to take your place at once in the ranks, to advance the movement and raise it to a higher stage.

Iskra, No. 29, December 1, 1902

Published according to the *Iskra* text

ON THE *SVOBODA* GROUP

The attitude of Messrs. the "Revolutionary-Socialists" towards any analysis of differences in principle is evident from the following. In the pamphlet, *What Is to Be Done?*, Lenin directly challenged *Svoboda* to refute the proposition that an "organisation of revolutionaries" is necessary for extending and intensifying work among the masses. In the same pamphlet Mr. Nadezhdin was given a detailed explanation of all the harm and unseemliness of a light-minded attitude towards theory, of inconsistency in matters of programme (a "revolutionary-socialist" and at the same time practically a Social-Democrat!), of vacillation between revolutionary tactics and the tactics of "economism", and between terrorism and the class struggle of the proletariat. In this pamphlet it was plainly pointed out and proved that *Svoboda* is sinking to the level of demagogy.* Mr. Nadezhdin preferred to decline the direct challenge. Instead of open battle with visor raised, this noble swashbuckler chose to act on the sly under a cover of a dispute on matters of organisation. In their "magazine for workers" (??) the *Svoboda* group merely hisses and snarls, without explaining its views, inciting the "masses" against an "organisation of revolutionaries" and assuring them that *Iskra* is chopping down the "sound trunk" of "economism". Disputes over principle, it assures us, are nothing but a pastime for intellectuals. For the "masses" it is sufficient to raise a howl against "domineering" and to indulge in quips about "an empty stomach and the Holy Ghost", about the "danger of hobnailed jackboots", about "swine and blockheads",

* See present edition, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

about "weakened grey matter" and "pig snouts", about the "collaring and jaw-breaking department", etc. (see *Otkliki*, pp. 30-55). Our revolutionary-socialists and Socialist-Revolutionaries persist in debasing "mass" literature to the level of cheap broadsheets, and for this service of theirs they claim the right to introduce confusion and corruption into all serious Party questions. A programme consisting of double book-keeping, tactics consisting of double book-keeping, practical activities consisting of demagogy—there you have a portrait of the "revolutionary-socialist" *Svoboda* group.

Iskra, No. 30, December 15, 1902

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EXTRACT FROM AN ARTICLE AGAINST THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES

The fusion of socialism with the working-class movement (this *sole* guarantee of a strong and truly revolutionary movement) is no easy matter, and it is not surprising that it is attended by vacillation of every kind. That is what we wrote exactly two years ago in the first article published in the first issue of *Iskra*.* And if a struggle was necessary against a tendency (trend) that had chosen the correct path but had wrongly defined its tasks along that path, it is far more necessary to struggle against a trend that does not even think of any fusion of any more or less integral and well-substantiated socialism with the working-class movement. Lacking a social basis and any links with a definite social class, it is endeavouring to cover up its inner impotence by the sweep of its emotion, the "breadth" of its programme, *i.e.* (read), by an unprincipled combination of the most diverse and opposing programmes which are equally applicable, precisely because of this quality of theirs, to the intelligentsia, to the proletariat, and to the peasantry. Behind the intelligentsia *en masse*, just as behind the liberal opposition, it may not be possible to discern any social class (since the liberal-Narodist trend, towards which the old Russian socialism was incapable of adopting a critical attitude, as are the Socialist-Revolutionaries today, declares that it is above classes). The peasantry may be approached without any solution of "accursed" problems relating to the foundations of its life, or its place in the social and economic evolution of Russia and of the whole world; it

* See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 368.—*Ed.*

may be approached with such general revolutionary and socialist phrases (socialist, at first glance) which as far as possible would not be contradictory to any of the accepted and declared solutions of the peasant question. The stormy period we are experiencing, with the struggle flaring up now here, now there, makes it possible, under cover of this struggle, to evade all and sundry questions of principle, limiting oneself to sympathetic support of all its manifestations and to the invention of "individual resistance" during a comparative lull. And the result is a trend which is very revolutionary in words, but not in the least revolutionary as far as its real views and contacts with the revolutionary class are concerned, revolutionary in its sharp attacks on the government and at the same time entirely incapable of correctly appraising the general tactics of this government and of giving a correct answer to such tactics. And truly, it is not difficult to see that notwithstanding all the jumps and waverings, notwithstanding all the confusion of the government in particular instances, its tactics as a whole betray clearly its two principal lines of self-defence.

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DRAFT APPEAL OF THE RUSSIAN ORGANISING COMMITTEE TO THE LEAGUE OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY, THE UNION OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ABROAD, AND THE FOREIGN COMMITTEE OF THE BUND

In fulfilment of the decision passed by a conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the spring of 1902, the *Organising Committee* proposes to the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy, the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad,[104] and the Foreign Committee of the Bund the formation of a foreign division of the Organising Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

The functions of this foreign division of the Russian Organising Committee should be as follows:

1) elaboration of the question as to how Social-Democratic organisations abroad should be represented at the congress. The final decision of this question depends upon the Russian Organising Committee and then upon the congress itself; 2) assistance from abroad in the arrangement of the congress (for example, finances, passports, etc.), and 3) preparation for the unification of the Social-Democratic organisations abroad, which is so vitally necessary in the interests of the Party and of the Social-Democratic labour movement in Russia in general.

Written in December 1902-January 1903

Published for the first time

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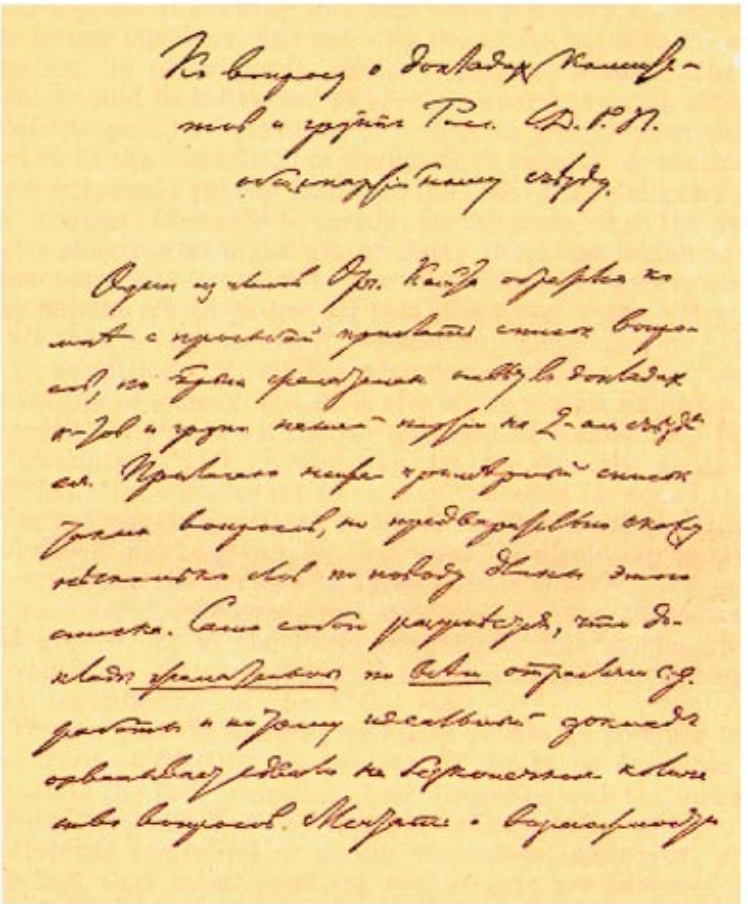
ON THE SUBJECT OF REPORTS BY COMMITTEES AND GROUPS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE GENERAL PARTY CONGRESS[105]

One of the members of the Organising Committee has asked me to send a list of questions to which it would be desirable to have replies given in the reports of the committees and groups of our Party at its Second Congress. I enclose herewith an approximate list of such questions, but first I should like to say a few words about the length of this list. Naturally, it would be *desirable* to have reports on *all* branches of Social-Democratic work, and the ideal report would therefore embrace an all but endless number of questions. Of course, we cannot even dream of it being possible to present such full reports. Nevertheless, I consider it very important and essential for the Organising Committee to endeavour to acquaint each committee or group with *the complete range* of questions of interest to (and needed by) the congress. Our Second Congress will have an even more *constituent* character than the First, and we must therefore bend every effort towards making the reports as complete and substantial as possible. The *closer* each group's report approximates to the ideal, the more completely and exactly will the movement as a whole be represented at our congress, and the more enduring the results of the congress.

The preparation of the reports, their discussions both in the committees and groups, etc., should begin as much as possible prior to the congress. In this connection it would be extremely important for the committees and groups, first, to divide among many of their members the work of drawing up the report; secondly, as soon as *each* section



First page of Lenin's manuscript, "On the subject of Reports by Committees and Groups of the R.S.D.L.P. to the General Party Congress." December 1902-January 1903

Reduced

of the report is ready the committees and groups should *immediately* forward a copy of it abroad, i.e., to a safe place (without waiting for the *complete* report); thirdly, they should make a point of drawing into this work not only actual but also former members, and not only the active but also absent members, in other words, those in exile or abroad. These persons could be instructed to prepare reports covering either a definite group of questions or a definite period when they worked in the committee or group. Such reports, or sections of reports, could greatly facilitate the task of the delegates at the congress. It stands to reason, furthermore, that the delegates should also make use of Party literature which contains numerous answers to questions in any report, i.e., they should try to gather all this literature, make a digest of all that is essential in it, correct any mistakes occurring in it, supplement it, adding whatever could not be printed for reasons of secrecy, etc. (it is also of the utmost importance to enlist for this work the co-operation of former members of committees and groups who are temporarily abroad). Incidentally, with regard to secrecy it should be added that there are certain questions to which written answers cannot and should not be given, for that would be disclosing secrets; nevertheless, the answers to these questions must positively be considered, prepared, and discussed by the committees and groups, for at the Party congress it will be *obligatory* to report on these questions (if not *in pleno*, then to a special commission, to the C.C., etc.).

With a view to drawing as many people as possible into the work of drafting the reports, it would be desirable to circulate the *list* of questions *itself* (together with the amendments recommended by specific committees, groups or individual comrades) *as widely as possible*; moreover, only the fact that these questions and reports are intended for the Second Party Congress should be kept secret from the broad circles of Social-Democrats.

Finally, there arises the question of the period to be covered by the reports. Formally speaking, it should be the period between the First and Second Congresses, i.e., from 1898 to 1903. However, since the First Congress was not fully representative, lasted too short a time, and was held under extremely unfavourable circumstances, it would be desirable

that the reports should also cover the period preceding 1898.

It would perhaps not be superfluous to make the reservation that this extremely detailed list of questions for the report should by no means be interpreted to imply that the person who is best acquainted with the history of the movement, or, in general, who is best able to answer all these questions, will make the best delegate to the congress, The congress should be of practical value in uniting the movement and giving it a powerful impulse, and those comrades who, even if they are new, are the most energetic, influential, and devoted to revolutionary work will make the best delegates. The reports, however, can be compiled from the contributions of many people and, in addition, in some cases it will perhaps be possible to delegate more than one person; it would be particularly desirable to give *a large number of worker* delegates the opportunity of attending the congress.

I shall now proceed to give the list of questions, which are divided up into eight sections or groups (the division of specific questions and even of groups of questions is often artificial and has been made only for convenience in reviewing them, as all questions are most closely interconnected).

I. THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT, ITS HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE

1) A brief description of the conditions and state of industry. Number, composition, distribution, and other specific features of the local proletariat (industrial, commercial, handicraft, etc., possibly agricultural also).

2) To what extent are the workers affected by socialist agitation? In what districts? Factories? Domestic industry, etc. Describe in as great detail as possible the growth of this group of workers from the very outset of the movement.

3) As complete a list as possible of strikes and a detailed account of each more or less big strike. Aggregate figures are desirable.

4) Have there been any outstanding instances of boycotts or other collective action,* besides strikes, on the part of the workers? Give details.

5) What workers' circles have existed and still exist? Mutual aid societies? Self-education societies? Working-class organisations? Trade unions? Fullest possible description of all such associations, their organisation, predominant composition, membership, period of existence, nature of activities, results of experience in this respect, etc.

6) Have any attempts been made to organise legal workers' societies? Detailed information about each such attempt, its results, effect, fate, present condition, and importance. The same with regard to Zubatov societies. Have any attempts been made to utilise legal societies for Social-Democratic purposes?

7) Effect of the present crisis? Description of it, primarily on the basis of information given by workers. The unemployed, their mood, agitation among them, etc.

II. HISTORY OF THE LOCAL SOCIALIST CIRCLES, APPEARANCE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS, STRUGGLE OF TRENDS WITHIN THEM

8) Were there any traces of the old socialist organisations when Social-Democracy appeared? What did they consist of and how did they make themselves felt? When did propaganda and agitation begin among the working class, and who started it? The followers of the Narodnaya Volya? What was their attitude towards Social-Democracy?

9) When and under what circumstances did individual Social-Democrats or Social-Democratic circles make their appearance? Give, in as much detail as possible, a description of *each* circle (in accordance with its programme), its importance and influence on subsequent circles.

10) How did Social-Democratic views take shape and develop in the local circles? What was the influence of other (towns) places? Of literature from abroad? Of legally published Marxist literature (and the literature of the "critics

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* Collective statements? Public meetings? Participation in public manifestations? etc.

of Marxism")? Describe the influence of the first, second and third factors as fully as possible.

11) Differences within the Social-Democratic movement. Did they exist before the appearance of the Manifesto of 1898? How did they express themselves? Have any documents remained? How was the Manifesto received? What protests or dissatisfaction did it arouse and from whom? How did the so-called "economist" views arise? How did they develop and spread? It is very important to describe this most accurately, using all available documentary material, with regard to every "economist" "phase" in the local movement. How did differences in the appraisal of the various Party papers and in the struggle among their adherents express themselves? Of *Rabochaya Gazeta*[106] (1897), *Rabotnik*,[107] published abroad, and its Listok, of *Rabochaya Mysl*, *Rabocheye Dyelo*, *Iskra*, *Zarya*, *Borba*, *Zhizn*,[108] etc.? etc.?

11 *bis*) Have there been any splits and conflicts between workers and the "intelligentsia" among Social-Democrats? It is very important to ascertain the causes and influence of such.

12) How has the struggle of trends been waged in the local circles? Only among the Social-Democratic intellectuals? Or among the workers too? Among the adherent student groups? Has it found expression in splits? In the organisation of separate groups? Has it flared up over general questions of principle? Over the contents of the leaflets? Over the question of demonstrations? Over the attitude towards the student movement? Over the question of the May Day demands?

Describe in detail the course and consequences of the struggle among the trends, and the present state of affairs in this respect.

III. ORGANISATION OF THE LOCAL COMMITTEE, LOCAL GROUPS AND CIRCLES

13) Predominant composition of the committee (*resp*. of the group, circle, and, if there are many, of each specific one)? Students? Workers? Are members added by election (and how is this done?), or otherwise? Are there separate

intellectuals' and workers' committees? Special technical, propagandist, agitational groups? Literary, central, district, local, executive groups? Their relationships according to the "Rules" (if such exist) and in actual practice? General meetings, their functions, frequency, and size? Organisation of contacts with other towns and abroad (i.e., special people, groups or persons outside the groups, etc.)? How is the distribution of literature organised? Organisation of tours?

What are the conclusions to be drawn from experience in organisational matters, and the prevailing views on organisational principles in the committees, among the intellectuals and the workers?

It is particularly important to give a detailed explanation of the causes and *effects* of the formation of separate intellectuals' and workers' (factory, artisan, etc.) committees.

14) Extension of work to nearby and other localities? What form has this taken: organised or sporadic? Have attempts been made to form *district* organisations or to participate in them?

Character of contacts with other localities.

History of the origin and work of district organisations. Composition of central district committee? Attitude towards local committees? Collection of funds? District treasuries? Repositories for literature? Effect of the district organisations upon the scope of the work, its stability, contact with the local committees, etc.

15) Finances of the committee? Statement of aggregate income and expenditure (based on reports, if any) for the entire period of existence? Ordinary and average budget, nature of its sources, collections raised among workers, levies on members, payment for literature, socials, donations, etc. (influence of *Osvobozhdeniye* and Socialist-Revolutionaries in this respect).

Amount and character of expenditure: technical aspects? maintenance of people? travelling expenses? etc.

IV. CHARACTER, CONTENT, AND SCOPE OF LOCAL WORK

16) Propaganda. Composition (of the circles) of propagandists? Their number, method of action? Do they include workers? Do students predominate? Do more experienced

comrades examine and direct their activities? Usual programmes of lectures, and how these are modified in the course of time? Workers' response and requests for definite subjects? Is it a practice to send speakers with good lectures to various towns, districts, etc.? Composition and size, frequency and circumstances of lecture meetings?

17) Economic agitation. When did issue of leaflets begin? Is it possible to give the total number of leaflets issued and in how many copies? (Approximately?) What districts, factories, and trades has this agitation involved? The procedure adopted in drawing up and approving leaflets? Participation of workers in this? Technique of publication and *d i s t r i b u t i o n*? Do workers act as distributors? To what extent is the demand for leaflets met?

18) Political agitation. Transition from economic agitation? When did it begin? Has it evoked any protests? When were the first political leaflets issued? Was there a time when only economic leaflets were issued? How is political agitation carried out and on what pretexts? Describe as fully as possible its expansion both as to the nature of the leaflets and as to the sphere of distribution. Documentary material is desirable, since it is important to know *all instances* of political agitation and all its spheres. Has it been conducted only among workers or among other classes as well (cf. below)? Methods and procedure in drawing up leaflets, demand for them, and extent to which this demand is met? Which are more needed, local or general leaflets?

19) Literature. What illegal publications are distributed? Enumerate them, stating how widely they are distributed, the attitude of the committee and the workers (*resp*. of the public in general) towards *each* publication (pamphlets, etc.). Time of distribution, demand, among which sections, chiefly for what literature?

Distributed or scattered? Collective reading in circles? What items have required explanation by intellectuals? Is interpretative reading widely practised? Of what works specifically?

20) Local and general Party press. History of the local paper. How frequently issued? Number of copies? How has the literary end been organised? Collection and safekeeping (loss?) of material? Organisation of contributions to

the local and general Party organs? Are there special literary groups? Reporters? Contacts with literary people? How are contributions forwarded? Through the committee? Through private persons and to what extent? Attempts to utilise students? Exiles?

Conclusions and inquiries about the papers.

21) May Day rallies. Account of each May Day rally and lessons for the future.

22) Demonstrations. Summary information on each demonstration. Attempts to organise in general? To offer resistance in particular? To arm? Views of workers and of "practicians" in general on this question?

Supplementing and checking of Party literature on demonstrations.

Present attitude towards this question.

V. ATTITUDE TOWARDS REVOLUTIONARY (ESPECIALLY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC) GROUPS OF OTHER RACES AND NATIONALITIES

23) Are there any workers of other nationalities and races? Work among these? Organised or sporadic? In what languages? Attitude towards Social-Democratic groups working in the same locality and using some other language? A precise and detailed account of these relations is desirable. Are there differences of opinion? On question of principle as to the national programme? On tactics? On organisation? Relations desirable for joint work. Possibility of a *single* Party organ? Is federation desirable, and of what type?

VI. PRINT-SHOPS, TRANSPORT? AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR SECRET WORK

24) Print-shops. Experience in establishing them. Expenditure of money and forces. Productivity. Need for local print-shops (for leaflets?) and general print-shops for many towns? Technical, organisational, financial, and secrecy arrangements for this work.

25) Transport. Have there been contacts in this field? Transport groups? History of each and detailed information

on arrangements, functioning, results, and prospects. Desirable form of organisation.

26) Arrangements for secret work. Secret quarters. Signals? Underground quarters? Procurement of passports~ Experience in this respect? Are there necessary contacts for this?

Arrangement of rendezvous?

Shadowing of spies? The struggle against spies and *agents provocateurs*? Its forms, previous and desirable?

Codes, correspondence between towns, within the town, with abroad?

Lectures on: "How to behave at police interrogations? Need for pamphlets on this and other subjects?

Committee records? Have there been such and have they been kept in the past? At present?

VII. CONTACTS AND ACTIVITY AMONG SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION OUTSIDE THE WORKING CLASS

27) Work among the peasantry? Are there individual contacts? Detailed information about such? How are contacts made and maintained, and with what peasants? With agricultural workers? Role of factory workers who go to the villages?

Attempts at propaganda? Distribution of pamphlets? Leaflets? What kind? How successful?

Existing situation and prospects.

28) Students. Is influence sporadic and personal, or organised? Have many Social-Democrats come from the midst of the students? Are there any contacts with students' circles, fraternities, union councils? How are these contacts maintained? Lectures? Distribution of literature? Prevalent mood among students and the history of changes in various moods.

Attitude towards student disturbances?

Students' participation in demonstrations.? Attempts to reach preliminary agreement in this respect?

Students as propagandists, their training for this work?

29) Secondary schools, Gymnasia, theological seminaries, etc., commercial and business schools? Nature of contacts with pupils? Attitude towards new phase of upsurge in move-

ment among them? Attempts to organise circles and study courses? Have recruits to the Social-Democratic movement been made (and how often) among recent Gymnasium graduates (or pupils)? Circles, lectures? Distribution of literature?

30) Contacts with "society"? In the past and today, and among what sections? Based on money collections? Distribution of literature? For organisation of legal libraries? To collect information and correspondence? Changes in the attitude of "society" towards Social-Democrats. Demand for Social-Democratic literature? Contacts among civil servants? Among postal, telegraph, and railway employees? Among factory inspectors? Among police employees? Among the clergy? Etc.?

It is likewise desirable to have an account of the experience of individual committee members in establishing personal contacts among various sections.

31) Contacts with the military? Part played by Social-Democratic intellectuals and workers who have completed military service? Contacts among commissioned and non-commissioned officers? How are these contacts maintained and utilised? Importance of these contacts in agitation, propaganda, organisation, etc.

It is desirable that particularly detailed information be given on this question and the preceding, since the problem is a new one and numerous isolated measures have to be summed up and collated.

VIII. STATE OF THE NON-SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY AND OPPOSITION TRENDS AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEM

32) Liberal trends. Liberal-Narodnik. Among the public? Among the students? *Osvobozhdeniye*, its circulation (among students? among workers?) and its influence? Are there any *Osvobozhdeniye* circles? Their attitude towards the Social-Democrats?

Interest in *Osvobozhdeniye* among Social-Democratic circles and attitude towards this publication. Is it utilised for propaganda and agitation?

General meetings with debates?

33) Socialist-Revolutionaries. Detailed account of their appearance in the given locality? When? From the Narodnaya Volya people? Their change into the Socialist-Revolutionaries? Influence of "economism"? Character and composition of their contacts and circles? Veterans? Students? Workers? The struggle against the Social-Democrats, its course, and how conducted?

United groups of Social-Democrats and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Their detailed history, data on their work, *leaflets*, resolutions of groups, and so on.

Special features of weakness or strength of the Socialist-Revolutionaries? Inclination towards terrorism? Among students? Among workers?

Work of the Socialist-Revolutionaries among the peasantry? Character of their contacts and activities there? Influence of their "agrarian programme"?

34) Other groups and trends. The *Svoboda* group, Workers' Party for the Political Liberation of Russia, Makhayevists,[109] *Rabocheye Znamya*-ists, etc. An account of their views, attitude towards Social-Democracy, information about their contacts and work.

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MOSCOW ZUBATOVISTS IN ST. PETERSBURG

Moskovskiye Vedomosti (No. 345, Dec. 15, 1902) carries a "Letter to the Publisher", written by a worker named F. A. Slepov, which we reproduce *in full* below. First of all, we would like to lend encouragement to our esteemed "fellow-journalist", Mr. Gringmut, editor of *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, for publishing a document of such great interest. And Mr. Gringmut undoubtedly stands in need of encouragement, for of late his extremely useful activity in obtaining (and featuring) material for revolutionary agitation has somehow fallen off, faded ... lost some of its fervour. You must try harder, colleague! Secondly, it is of the utmost importance at the present time that the St. Petersburg workers should watch every step of Zubatovism, should collect information more regularly about workers who have linked up with spies and are conferring with former, present and future generals, society ladies, and "true Russian" intellectuals, and should spread this information as widely as possible, explaining it in detail to one and all.

Here is the letter, which we have supplemented with a few comments of our own in brackets:

"Dear Sir,

"Could you find it possible to publish the following in *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, which is held in such esteem by all true Russian people:

"On the 10th of this month, a meeting of the Board of the Russkoye Sobraniye[110] was held in the premises of the Sobraniye in St. Petersburg and was devoted exclusively to questions concerning the life of Russian factory workers.

"Among the most prominent members of St. Petersburg society present at the meeting were: General K. V. Komarov,

former Assistant Governor General of Warsaw; Auditor General A. V. Vasilyev; Colonel A. P. Veretennikov; Count Apraxin; Count A. P. Ignatyev, ex-Governor General of Kiev; Count P. A. Golenishchev-Kutuzov; General Zabudsky; Admiral Nazimov; Nikolai Vyacheslavovich von Plehve; I. P. Khrushchov, member of the Board of the Ministry of Public Education; Professor Zolotaryov of the General Staff; V. S. Krivenko; Count N. F. Heyden; General Demyanenkov; Archpriest Ornatsky and other church dignitaries. Also present were ladies from the upper circles of St. Petersburg society, as well as Mayor Lelyanov and Councillor Dekhterev of the City Council. The press was represented by V. V. Komarov, editor of *Svyet*; V. L. Velichko, editor of *Russky Vestnik*; Syromyatnikov, of the staff of *Novoye Vremya*; K. K. Sluchevsky, former editor of *Pravitelstvenny Vestnik*; Leikin, editor and publisher of the *Oskolki* magazine; the painter Karazin, and others.

"The meeting opened with a report on the condition of workers in the manufacturing industries delivered by I. S. Sokolov, a worker" (concerning Sokolov see No. 30 of *Iskra*, which gives a fuller list, based on information taken from *Svyet*, of St. Petersburg worker-Zubatovists.—*Ed.*). "In the main, the speaker explained the present condition of the working class in the industrial cities, their material and spiritual needs, their efforts to acquire knowledge, etc." (It is a pity that Mr. Sokolov's report has not been published! It would be interesting to see how he managed to "explain" the workers' efforts to acquire knowledge but made no mention of police persecution of such efforts.—*Ed.*) "Then representatives of the Moscow workers" (would it not be more correct to say: representatives of the Moscow secret police? Was it not on money supplied by the police that you and your friends travelled to St. Petersburg, Mr. Slepov?—*Ed.*), "among whom I was, also had the honour of attending the meeting of the Russkoye Sobraniye and reporting to that illustrious gathering on the state of affairs in the working-class world of Moscow. In our report we first of all expressed, on behalf of Russian workers, our profound gratitude to the members of the Russkoye Sobraniye for giving their representatives the opportunity to explain the present condition of the Russian working class. Further we requested the representatives of

Russian higher society to devote serious attention to the education of the Russian workers" (quite naturally! It is precisely from the upper classes that the worker should expect an education—by means of the whip probably!—*Ed.*), "which is in a far from satisfactory state, a fact that is being successfully used for socialist propaganda by persons with malicious intent" (if the lack of education is advantageous to the *socialists*, why, then, is the *government* closing schools for workers and reading-rooms? It doesn't make sense, Mr. Slepov!—*Ed.*), "thereby causing harm not only to the workers, but to the entire Russian state. Then we endeavoured to call the attention of the illustrious assembly to the lack of sympathy among Moscow factory-owners for the Moscow workers' idea of uniting in a close family for the purpose of founding their own mutual aid societies, which are so important for delivering the workers from crushing want. In this connection we asked members of the illustrious assembly to raise in government circles the question of loans to the workers' mutual aid societies" (see the speech of the Nizhni-Novgorod worker, Samylin, before the court, in No. 29 of *Iskra*, in which he tells how he was arrested for taking part in a workers' circle studying economics. There is education for you; there you have mutual aid societies!—*Ed.*). "Undoubtedly, support of the workers in their material needs would constitute the best refutation of malicious propaganda among them" (can it really be that Mr. Slepov—and what an appropriate name he has!*—seriously believes that for the sake of some miserable hand-out a class-conscious worker would cease striving for liberty? As to "supporting the non-class-conscious, ignorant *mass* "in their material needs, this is beyond the power of even the most highly placed patrons of the Zubatovists, since in order to provide such support it is first necessary to change the whole social system, which rests on destitution of the masses.—*Ed.*). "These false '*well-wishers*' of the workers usually say that the workers can improve their life only by means of riots, disturbances, resistance to the authorities, etc. Unfortunately such incitement sometimes meets with success, as every-

* Slepov, from *slepoi*—the Russian for "blind".—*Ed.*

one knows. Peaceful improvement of the workers' living conditions is the best way to refute these agitators. Then we had the honour to report to the illustrious assembly that in Moscow, despite most widespread unemployment, socialist propaganda had lost all its appeal of late" (but only quite recently we heard of an enormous number of arrests. in Moscow! What would be the point of the arrests and who would there have been to arrest if this propaganda had lost its appeal??—*Ed.*), "precisely because the workers are already beginning to organise and have a Mutual Aid Society and a Consumers' Society, and because the sympathetic attention of the authorities has already been given to the needs of the workers, making it possible to arrange for them lectures on general education, etc. Besides what has been said above, we also reported to the Sobraniye about cases in Moscow in which we had figured in the capacity of mediators and conciliators between workers and manufacturers, not only putting an end to disorders but even averting them, as, for instance, at the Hakental factory, the Bromley Bros. factory and the Dobrov-Nabholtz factory. We also mentioned the strike of workers of the Goujon metallurgical plant, where the workers of the rolling and nail shops did stop work, but thanks to our intervention did not go so far as to cause disturbances, and returned to work as a result of our comradely advice" (the workers get plenty of such "comradely" advice during each strike both from the police and from the factory inspectors, who are always asking them to "return to work." This is not comradely, but police advice.—*Ed.*).

"The members of the Russkoye Sobraniye listened to our reports sympathetically" (how else but sympathetically would they listen to workers who are helping the police in its business!—*Ed.*) "and many voiced the opinion that serious thought should be given to the question of the workers and that they should be afforded the opportunity and the means of ridding themselves of the influence of the socialist doctrine" (an interesting scene: generals and priests, Zubatov spies and writers loyal to the police spirit intend to "help" the workers rid themselves of the influence of the socialist doctrine!—and incidentally, at the same time to help hook unwary workers who will swallow the bait.—

Ed.), "allowing them independent activity, under control of government statutes and under the guidance of that section of the intelligentsia which truly loves its native land and is striving for its welfare and prosperity" (fine independent activity indeed under police control! No, the workers are already demanding independent activity untrammelled by the police, with the right to choose as leaders those of the intellectuals whom they, the workers, trust.—*Ed.*). "V. V. Komarov, A. V. Vasilyev, Colonel Veretennikov, Mr. Dekhterev, the painter Karazin, Prince D. P. Golitsyn, and many others reacted most warmly to the question of the workers. The idea was expressed that it was necessary to set up special workers' councils, headed by a central council, which would be a beneficial factor in averting misunderstandings between workers and manufacturers. As Mr. Dekhterev put it, this should be allowed because a crowd can never act intelligently and that influence over a crowd of workers could be exerted best of all by the workers themselves; as an example, he cited a similar type of institution in France which was coping with the above-mentioned task successfully." (Yes, Workers' Councils are meeting with success in France and throughout Europe. That is true. But they are meeting with success because there the workers enjoy political liberty, have their own unions, their own newspapers, their elected representatives in parliament. Does Mr. Dekhterev really think that the St. Petersburg workers are all so naïve as not to know this?—*Ed.*). "The question of government loans to the workers' mutual aid societies also met with sympathy by members of the Russkoye Sobraniye. The meeting closed with a decision to elect a special commission to consider the steps to be taken in the matter. We trust that you, Mr. Editor, as a true Russian, will accord us, workers, the same sympathy, and that you will find it possible to publish the above in your paper, so that our best people may all unite for a joint struggle against the enemies of our native land, who are stirring up sedition among the mass of the people, sowing the seeds of internecine strife and undermining loyalty to the time-honoured traditions, and respect and reverence for the supreme authority. We are firmly convinced that there are also people in Russia who are ready to give their all to the

service of their fatherland, to offer up their forces and abilities on its altar and, in close communion, to erect an insurmountable barrier to falsehood and malice in Russia.

"F. A. Slepov, worker."

And at the close Mr. Slepov could not but let his tongue run away with him! All support for the workers' needs, all sympathy on the part of the government boiled down to one thing: to form groups from among the workers themselves to combat socialism. This is the truth of it. And it will be most interesting for the workers to learn that in addition to the knout and imprisonment, exile and prisons, the Zubatov workers will also try to inculcate in them "respect and reverence for the supreme authority". No sensible worker will say at a public meeting what he really thinks—that would be delivering himself directly into the hands of the police. But through *our own* papers, *our own* leaflets and *our own* meetings we can and must see to it that the new Zubatov campaign is turned entirely to the good of socialism.

Iskra, No. 31, January 1, 1903

Published according to the *Iskra* text

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FORMATION OF AN ORGANISING COMMITTEE[111]

Four years ago several Russian Social-Democratic organisations united in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party and worked out a certain plan of organisation and general principles of activity, which were set forth in the "Manifesto" published by the Party.[112] Unfortunately, this first attempt was not crowned with success: the elements necessary for building up a united and strong Social-Democratic Party, which would wage an unremitting struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat from all forms of oppression and exploitation, did not as yet exist. On the one hand, the very forms of the practical activity of the Russian Social-Democrats were only just beginning to take shape. The Social-Democrats, who had but recently entered on the path of struggle, were still seeking the best ways of putting their theoretical views into practice and were still advancing with timid and uncertain steps. The working-class movement, on which they based their activities and which was finding expression in tremendous strikes, had only just burst forth in a brilliant flash that dazzled the eyes of many, obscuring from their vision the tasks and aims, so clear and definite, of revolutionary Social-Democracy, and inducing an enthusiasm for a narrow trade-union struggle. On the other hand, the constant repressions practised by the government against the Social-Democratic organisations, which had not yet become strong or firmly rooted, destroyed all continuity and cut short any tradition in their activities.

However, this unsuccessful attempt did not pass without a trace. From that time on, the very idea of an organised political party of the proletariat, which guided our forerunners, became the lodestar and goal of all class-conscious Social-Democrats. In the course of these four years, repeated attempts have been made to give effect to this idea, which has been handed down to us by the first Social-Democratic leaders. But to this day we are faced with the very same disorganisation that existed four years ago.

At the same time, life makes greater and greater demands on us. Whereas the first leaders of the Party made it their task to rouse the dormant revolutionary forces of the mass of the workers, we are faced with the much more complex task of guiding the awakening forces in the right direction, of taking our place at the head of these forces

and of leading them. We must be prepared at any moment to hear the call: "Lead us whither you have called us!" It will be a fearful thing if that moment takes us unawares, just as divided and unprepared as we are at present. Let it not be said to us that we are exaggerating the gravity of the moment. Anyone capable of seeing beyond ripples on the surface, anyone capable of discerning a process that is going on in the depths, will never suspect us of exaggeration.

But the gravity of the situation is enhanced by still other circumstances. We are passing through a momentous period in history. The awakening of the working class in connection with the general course of Russian life has roused various sections of society to activity. More or less consciously they are striving to organise for the purpose of joining, in one way or another, the struggle against an obsolete regime. We wish them every success! Social-Democrats can only welcome all who join such a struggle. But they must vigilantly watch lest such allies make Social-Democracy a tool in their hands, lest they divert it from the main field of activity, lest they deprive it of the leading role in the struggle against the autocracy and, what is most important, lest they hinder the progress of the revolutionary struggle by diverting it from the correct path. That this danger is no figment of the imagination is clear to everyone who has carefully followed the development of the revolutionary struggle in recent years.

Thus, Russian Social-Democracy is now faced with a gigantic task, one that is beyond the power of any local committee or even district organisation. No matter how perfect the local organisations may be, they will not be able to cope with this task, for it has already grown beyond local bounds. It can be accomplished only by the collective forces of all Social-Democrats in Russia, welded into a single, centralised, disciplined army. But, then, who is to assume the initiative for this unification?

This question was discussed last year at a conference of representatives of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle, the Central Committee of the United Committees and Organisations of the South, the *Iskra* organisation, the Central Committees of the Bund (in Russia and abroad), the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, and some other organisations. The conference instructed representatives of certain organisations to form an Organising Committee, which would assume the task of actually re-establishing the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

In fulfilment of this decision, representatives of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle, the *Iskra* organisation, and *Yuzhny Rabochy* group* have formed an Organising Committee, which sets itself the first and foremost task of *preparing the conditions for the convocation of a Party congress*.

* The Bund was also invited to send its representative to the Organising Committee, but for reasons unknown to us, the Bund did not respond to this invitation. We hope that these reasons were purely accidental, and that the Bund will not delay in sending its representative.

However, since the convocation of a congress is a highly complex matter and requires considerable time, the Organising Committee assumes, until the re-establishment of the central Party body, certain general functions (the issuing of leaflets intended for the whole of Russia, general transport arrangements and methods of underground work, the establishment of contacts between the committees, etc.).

It is self-evident that the Organising Committee, which has arisen on the initiative of several organisations, will be bound by obligatory relations only with those organisations that have already authorised it or that will authorise it to act for them. Its relation to all other committees and groups is that of a separate organisation, which offers its services to them.

The task which the Organising Committee has decided to undertake is a great and responsible one, and, if it has nevertheless made so bold as to do so, that is only because the need for unity is so pressing, because disunity is making itself felt all too keenly, and because continued disorganisation constitutes so great a threat to the common cause. In setting to work, the Organising Committee believes that the success of its activity will depend to a considerable extent on the attitude adopted towards it by the Social-Democratic committees and organisations, and this attitude itself will be regarded by the committee as a criterion of the correctness with which it has gauged the present situation.

The Organising Committee

December 1902

* * *

This statement by the newly-formed Organising Committee of our Party speaks eloquently enough for itself, and there is no need for us to devote many words to explaining the great significance of the step that has been taken. Unification, the re-establishment of a united Party, is the most pressing task of the Russian Social-Democrats, a task that urgently requires immediate accomplishment. This task is a very difficult one, for it is not unity of a few handfuls of revolutionarily minded intellectuals that we need, but unity of all leaders of the working-class movement, which has roused the whole of a large class of the population to independent life and struggle. We need unification based on a strict singleness of principle which must be consciously and firmly arrived at by all or by the vast majority of committees, organisations, and groups, of intellectuals and workers, who act in varying circumstances and under varying conditions and have sometimes achieved their Social-Democratic convictions along the most diverse paths. Such unification

cannot be decreed; neither can it be established immediately, by mere resolutions adopted by assembled delegates. It must be prepared and developed systematically and gradually, so that the general Party congress can consolidate and improve what has already been accomplished, continue what has been started, and complete and formally endorse the firm foundation for further, more widespread and intense work. And that is why we particularly welcome the wisely cautious and modest way in which the Organising Committee has entered upon its duties. Without insisting on any kind of obligatory relations with the mass of Russian Social-Democrats, the Organising Committee confines itself to *offering its services* to all of them. And so let all Russian Social-Democrats without exception—committees and circles, organisations and groups, those on active service and those temporarily on the retired list (exiles, etc.)—make haste to respond to this call; let them strive to establish direct and active contacts with the O.C.; let them give their most active support to the great work of unification. We must see to it that *not a single* group of Russian Social-Democrats fails to establish contacts with the O.C., or work in comradely harmony with it. Further, while regarding the preparation and convocation of a general Party congress as its primary task, the O.C. also assumes certain general functions *in the service of the movement*. We are confident, that no Social-Democrat will fail to recognise the pressing need for this extension of functions on the part of the O.C., for this is merely an extended *offer of its services*—an offer that goes to meet demands expressed thousands and thousands of times —an offer that does not entail the forfeiture of any "rights", but rather the practical abandonment of isolation as speedily as possible, and the tackling in common of a number of joint undertakings. Finally, we also consider absolutely correct and in place the resolute statement of the O.C. that the convocation of a congress is a highly complex matter and requires considerable time. This, of course, does not at all mean that the convocation of the congress should be put off. Nothing of the sort. If we take into account the urgency of the congress, then we would have to admit that even one month is too "considerable" a period for its convocation. But if we bear in mind our conditions of

work and the necessity for adequate representation of the entire movement at the congress, then five or even ten times as long a period will not cause a single Party worker who is at all experienced to lose heart.

Let us then wish every success to the work for the speediest possible unification and re-establishment of the Party and let us show our sympathy with this work not only in words but in immediate action on the part of every one of us. Long live Russian and international revolutionary Social-Democracy!

Iskra, No. 32, January 15, 1903

Published according to the Iskra text

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE LETTER FROM "7 Ts. 6 F."[113]

I am writing under the fresh impression of your letter, which I have just read. Its senseless twaddle is so exasperating that I am unable to suppress the desire to state my opinion frankly. Please send my letter on to the author and tell him that he need not take offence at the severe tone. After all, it is not meant for publication.

The letter deserves a reply, in my opinion, because it shows up in particularly bold relief a characteristic trait in the mood of many present-day revolutionaries: waiting for instructions; demanding *everything* from above, from others, from outside; looking lost when faced by failures caused by local inactivity; piling up complaint after complaint, and inventing recipes for a cheap and simple cure of the evil.

You will not invent anything, gentlemen! If *you yourselves* are inactive, if you permit splits to take place under your very noses and then heave sighs and make complaint—*no recipes will help you*. And it is utterly absurd to shower us with complaints on this score. Don't imagine that you offend us by your accusations and attacks: you see, we have become inured, so devilishly inured to them that they do not provoke us!

"Mass" literature "by the hundredweight"—this battle-cry of yours is nothing but an *imaginary recipe* for someone else to cure you of your own inactivity. Believe me, no such recipes will *ever* work! If you yourselves are not energetic and alert, no one will help you in any way. It is highly unreasonable to wail, "*g i v e* us this or that, *d e l i v e r* something or other", when *you yourselves should do the getting and delivering*. It is useless to write about it to us, for we cannot do it from here, whereas you can and should

do it by yourselves: I am referring to the delivery of literature we are publishing and have on hand.

Some local "activists" (so called because they are inactive), who have seen no more than a few issues of *Iskra* and who do not work actively to get and distribute it in *mass* quantities, invent the flimsy excuse: "That is not what we want. Give us *mass* literature, for the masses! Masticate it for us, put it into our mouths, and perhaps we'll manage to do the swallowing ourselves.

How phenomenally absurd these plaints appear to those who know and see that they, these local "activists", are unable to organise the distribution of even what is available. Is it not ridiculous to read: give us hundredweights, when you *are unable* to take and transport even a *few pounds*? Do that first, worthy "dreamers for an hour" (for the first mishap makes you abandon everything, even all your convictions!). Do that, and then, when you have done it not once, but dozens of times, the publication, too, *will grow* with the demand.

I say it will grow, for your plaints about mass literature (which you have uncritically and senselessly copied from the Socialist-Revolutionaries, *Svoboda* people, and all sorts of confused "inactivists") are caused by forgetfulness of a small ... a very small trifle, namely, forgetfulness of the fact that you are unable to take and distribute *even a hundredth part* of the mass literature we are publishing now. I shall take one of the recent lists of one of our few (miserably, pitifully, shamefully few) consignments. *The Nizhni-Novgorod speeches*, *the Rostov struggle*, *the pamphlet on strikes*, *the Dikstein pamphlet**[114]—I shall limit myself to these. Four, only four small items! So little!!

* "This is old stuff!" you wail. Yes. All parties that have good popular literature have been distributing *old stuff*: Guesde and Lafargue, Bebel, Bracke, Liebknecht, etc., *for decades*. Do you hear: for decades! And the *only* popular literature that is *good*, the *only* popular literature that is *suitable* is that which can serve *for decades*. For popular literature is a series of *textbooks for the people* and textbooks teach the ABC, which remains unchanged for *fifty years* at a time. The "popular" literature which "captivates" you and which the *Svoboda* group and Socialist-Revolutionaries publish by the hundredweight every month is *waste paper* and *charlatanism*. Charlatans always bustle and make the greatest noise, and some naïve people mistake that for energy.

Yes, it is very little! Yes, we need four hundred, not four.

But, permit me to ask you, have you been able to distribute *at least these four things by the ten thousand*? No, you have not been able to do this. You have not been able to distribute them by the hundred even. *That is why* you shout: *give* us hundredweights! (No one will ever *give* you anything if you are unable to *take* it: bear that in mind).

Have you been able to make use of the *hundreds* of copies which have been *delivered* to you, *brought* to you, *and placed into your mouths*?? No, you have not been able to do that. Even in this trifle you have not been able to link up the masses with Social-Democracy. Every month we get tens and hundreds of leaflets, reports, news items, and letters from all parts of Russia, but we have had *not a single* (give good thought to the exact meaning of the words, "not a single"!) report about the distribution of these hundreds of copies among the *masses*, about the impression they made on the *masses*, about the reaction of the *masses*, about discussions among the *masses* on t h e s e things! You are placing us in a position wherein the writer does the writing and the reader (the intellectual) does the reading—after which this same slothful reader fulminates against the writer because he (the writer!!!) does not furnish literature "by the hundredweight" everywhere. The person whose sole business it is to *l i n k u p* the writer with the masses sits like a ruffled turkey and gobbles away: give us mass literature, while *at the same* time *he is unable* to make use of even a *h u n d r e d t h p a r t* of what is available.

You will of course say that it is *impossible*, impossible in general, to get, for instance, *Iskra*, our main product, *linked up* with the masses. I know you will say that. I have heard it hundreds of times and have always replied that this is untrue, that it is a subterfuge, shirking, inability, and indolence, the desire to have roast duck fly straight into your mouths.

I know from the facts that enterprising people *have been able* to "link up" *Iskra* (this super-intellectual *Iskra*, as the sorry little intellectuals consider it) with the *masses* of even such backward and uneducated workers as those in the industrial gubernias around Moscow. I have known *workers* who have themselves distributed *Iskra* among the masses (there)

and who merely remarked that there were too few copies. Quite recently I heard a "soldier from the field of battle" tell of how in one such out-of-the-way factory area in central Russia *Iskra* is read at one and the same time in numerous circles, at gatherings numbering from ten to fifteen people, the committee and subcommittees *themselves* reading over every issue in advance, *planning* jointly just how to use each article in agitation talks. And they were able to make use of even those paltry five to eight (maximum: *eight*!!) copies which were all that they got owing to the helpless inactivity of the activists stationed near the border (who are never even able to make arrangements for reception of literature consignments and hope that the writer will give birth not only to articles but to people to do the work for them!).

Come now, tell us with your hand over your heart: have many of you made *such* use of *e v e r y* copy of *Iskra* you received (delivered to you, brought *to* you)? You are silent! Well then, let me tell you: one *out of a hundred* copies that get to Russia (by the will of the fates and due to the inactivity of the "readers") is being used *in this way*, with discussions on the agitation value of every item, with readings of every item in workers' study circles, in *all* circles of *all* workers who are accustomed to foregather in a particular town. And yet people who are unable to *assimilate* even a hundredth part of the material that gets to them wail: give us hundredweights!! Shchedrin's formula (the writer does the writing) still regards the "reader" far, far too optimistically!!

The present-day reader (from among the Social-Democratic intellectuals) has gone so far as to complain about the *writers* because the local intellectuals are lazy and "order" the workers about, without doing anything for them. The complaint is justified, a thousand times justified, only ... is it directed to the proper quarter? Won't you permit us to *return this complaint to the sender*, with a double charge as punishment?? What about yourselves, my worthy complainants? If your friends are *unable* to make use of *Iskra* for readings in workers' study circles, if they are *unable* to assign people for the delivery and distribution of literature, if they are *unable* to assist the workers to set up circles for this purpose, why *d o n't y o u t h r o w* such helpless friends *o v e r b o a r d*?? Just think, in what sort of pretty

situation do you find yourselves when you complain to *us* about *your own* helplessness?

It is a *fact* that the "practicians" do not make use of even a hundredth part of all they *could* **take**. And it is a no less indubitable fact that the special varieties of "mass" literature which these people have thought up are only pretexts and dodges. In the letter of "7 Ts. 6 F.", for instance, three varieties are recommended to "us" (it would be to us, of course):

1) A popular newspaper. Chew over every fact so as to make its assimilation possible without digestion, so that *we*, "activists", should need no stomachs at all.

It does not matter that the world has never yet seen such a "popular" "newspaper", since a newspaper *gives answers* to *everything*, while popular literature *gives instruction* on *a few things*. It does not matter that *all* our examples of such literature, beginning with *Rabochaya Mysl*, on through *Vperyods*,[115] *Rabocheye Dyelos*, *Krasnoye Znamyas*,[116] and the like, have unavoidably and necessarily proved mongrels, being neither popular nor newspapers. It does not matter that *all* efforts of the "workers'" newspapers have merely nurtured, and always will nurture, the absurd division into an intellectual movement **and** a working-class movement (a division caused by the dull-wittedness and bungling of the intellectuals, who go so far as to send complaints about their own bungling from the *seat of the trouble* to the ends of the earth!). It does not matter that *all* the efforts of the "workers'" newspapers so far have been breeding, and will always breed among us, amateurishness and special, profound, Kazan and Kharkov theories. All this does not matter. Look at the *captivating Svoboda* group and the *captivating* ("breath-taking") Socialist-Revolutionaries; what a mass (ugh, what a mass!) of popular newspapers and periodicals they are publishing!! *Narodnoye Dyelo*, *Krasnoye Znamya*, *Svoboda*—a magazine for workers, *Otkliki*—a newspaper and magazine for workers, *Luchina*—for peasants, *Rabochaya Mysl*—the Geneva newspaper of the St. Petersburg workers!! It does not matter that all this is trash, but it is *mass* trash for all that.

And all you have is just one *Iskra*; after all, it gets monotonous! Thirty-one issues and all *Iskra*, while with the

captivating people every two issues of one title (of trash) are immediately followed by three issues of another title (of trash). Now, this is energy, this is jolly, this is new! But our Social-Democrats....

2) And "they" are always having new pamphlets. Each reprint is considered a pamphlet and all this is meretriciously trumpeted forth, and the printed sheets are added up (a **million** printed sheets: see No. 16 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*. They have broken all records! Champions!).

But in our case! Reprints are not counted as pamphlets—that is highbrowism, bookishness!! The ancient Dikstein pamphlets are being republished, when every girl in Paris and in Chernigov knows that *ten* new pamphlets (trash) are worth a hundred times more than one old pamphlet, even a good one.

It is only the Germans who do things in such a way that, for example, in 1903 Bebel's *Our Aims*, written **thirty-four** years ago, is being republished for the *eleventh* time!! That is so boring. Our "captivating" Socialist-Revolutionaries are pouring out stuff. But our local "activists" are able to use neither the *o l d* Plekhanov pamphlets (twenty years old: ancient stuff! To the archives with them!), nor "some" one (one!) pamphlet on strikes[117] and on the Witte memorandum!

This quite apart from the fact that the local "activist" does not lift a finger to squeeze *g o o d* pamphlets out of authors now in exile—and to *get local writers to contribute to* "*Iskra*". Why do that? It is much easier to complain than to undertake such a troublesome business! And the present-day reader unblushingly calls himself an *Iskra*-ist on the grounds that he writes complaints to *Iskra*. Nor does it trouble his conscience in the slightest that 99 per cent of the articles are written by the one and the same three and a half writers. Nor does he find it necessary even to think about the fact that *Iskra* must not be allowed to stop publication and that the fortnightly issue of one and a half to two signatures calls for a lot of work. Still, he continues to shout with simply unparalleled fatuity: thirty-one issues, and there are still many fools in the localities and much helpless wailing!! A truly crushing argument.... Only whom and what does it crush?

3) Leaflets.

G i v e us leaflets! The committees cannot do it!! Write, deliver, bring (and distribute?) leaflets!

Well, now, this is indeed consistent. I open my mouth and you shovel it in: here we have the new formula for the relations between the "writer" and the *Iskra* practician! To go so far as to state that the local organisations (consisting of slothful "activists"?) cannot manage to issue local leaflets, that these leaflets should be delivered from abroad, that is the *limit*. This is such a splendid (in my opinion) crowning touch to the whole letter of "7 Ts. 6 F." that it only remains for me to conclude with this "crown". Any further remarks or comments will only dim its shining lustre.

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CONCERNING THE STATEMENT OF THE BUND

We have just received No. 106 of the Bund's *Posledniye Izvestia* (dated February 3 (January 21*)), which reports an exceptionally important, drastic and highly lamentable step taken by the Bund. It appears that in Russia there has come out a statement of the Central Committee of the Bund on the announcement of the Organising Committee. As a matter of fact, it would be more correct to say: a statement on the *footnote* in the announcement of the Organising Committee, for it is *mainly* this single footnote that the Bund deals with in its statement.

This is what it is all about. As our readers know, the Organising Committee stated in this terrible "footnote", which (ostensibly!) was the spark that set the forest on fire, literally the following:

"The Bund was also invited to send its representative to the Organising Committee, but for reasons unknown to us, the Bund did not respond to this invitation. We hope that these reasons were purely accidental, and that the Bund will not delay in sending its representative."**

What, we ask, could be more natural and innocent than this footnote? How else could the O.C. have acted? To avoid mentioning the Bund would have been wrong, since the O.C. did not and could not ignore it so long as the Bund, on the basis of the decision of the Party Congress in 1898, was affiliated to the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. And once we did mention it, we had to state that we had invited it. Clear enough, one would think? And it is even clearer that if the O.C. did not know the reasons for

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* Second date Old Style.—*Ed.*

** See p. 306 of this volume.—*Ed.*

the Bund's silence, this is exactly what *should have been* stated: "for reasons unknown to us." By adding the words: we hope that these reasons were *purely accidental* and that the Bund will not delay in sending its representative—the O.C. openly and straightforwardly expressed its desire to work *together with the Bund* for the organisation of the congress and the re-establishment of the Party.

Obviously, if the Bund also shared this desire, it would only have to send its representative, who was *invited* both through secret channels and in the press announcement. Instead, the Bund *enters into polemics* with a footnote (!!), and in a printed statement gives a *separate* and *particular* exposition of its opinions and views on the tasks of the O.C. and the conditions for convoking a congress. Prior to examining the Bund's "polemic" and analysing its views, we must *protest* most emphatically against the Bund coming out with a separate statement in the press, since such action is an infringement of the most elementary rules governing the *joint* conduct of revolutionary activities and especially organisational activities. One of two things, gentlemen. Either you *do not want* to work in *one common* O.C., in which case no one, of course, will complain of your acting separately, or you want to work jointly, in which case you are *in duty bound* to state your views, not in separate statements to the public, but to the comrades on the O.C., which comes out publicly only as an integral body.

The Bund itself is, of course, fully aware that its action flies in the face of all rules of comradely conduct of *common* affairs, and it attempts to take refuge in the following feeble justification: "Since we have had no possibility to express our views on the tasks of the forthcoming congress either through personal attendance at the conference or through participation in drawing up the 'Announcement', we are obliged to make up for this omission, at least to some extent, by the present statement." The question arises: does the Bund really intend in all seriousness to assure us that it had "no possibility" to send a letter to the O.C.? Or to send a letter to the St. Petersburg Committee? Or to the *Iskra* organisation, or *Yuzhny Rabochy*? And besides was there no possibility for the Bund to send its delegate to one of these organisations? Did the Bund try to take at least one

of these "impossibly" difficult steps, which very likely were especially difficult for an organisation so weak, inexperienced and lacking in all links as the Bund?

Stop this game of hide-and-seek, gentlemen! It is both stupid and unbefitting. You acted separately because you *wanted* to act separately. And you wanted to act separately in order to indicate and immediately carry out your *decision* to place your relations with the Russian comrades on a *new* footing: not to *affiliate* to the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party on the basis of the Rules of 1898, but to enter into a *federative* alliance with it. Instead of *discussing* this question in detail and comprehensively before the entire congress, as we wanted to do, when *for a very long time we refrained from continuing the polemic we started* on the question of federation and nationality[118]—instead of doing this, as all or the vast majority of the Russian comrades undoubtedly wanted to do, you *wrecked* joint discussion. You did not act as a fellow comrade of St. Petersburg, the South, and *Iskra*, one who desired to discuss together with them the best form of relations (both *prior to the congress* and *at the congress*); you acted as a *contracting party*, apart from all the members of the R.S.D.L.P. presenting *your own terms* to the whole of this Party.

Love cannot be forced, says the Russian proverb. If the Bund does not want to remain in the closest alliance with the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which was properly recommended by the Congress of 1898, then of course it will cease to maintain the old relations. We do not deny the "right" of the Bund to express its opinion and its desire (in general, we do not indulge in talk about "rights" in the cause of revolution except in cases of dire necessity). But we do very much regret the fact that the Bund has shown so little tact as to give expression to its opinion in a separate public statement when it was invited to enter a common organisation (the O.C.) *which had not expressed in advance any hard and fast opinion on the given question* and was calling a congress for the express purpose of discussing each and every opinion.

The Bund wanted to *provoke* an immediate declaration of opinions on the part of all those who entertain different views on this question. Very well! We, of course, shall not

refuse to do so. We shall tell the Russian proletariat, and shall specially repeat to the Jewish proletariat, that the present Bund leaders are committing a grave political error, which will undoubtedly be corrected by time, experience, and the growth of the movement. At one time the Bund supported "economism", helped to bring about the split abroad, and adopted resolutions stating that the economic struggle is the *best* means of political agitation. We rose up against this and fought it. And the fight helped to rectify the old mistakes, of which very likely not even a trace has remained. We fought against the urge towards terrorism, which to all appearances vanished even more rapidly. We are convinced that nationalist passion too will vanish. In the end the Jewish proletariat will understand that its most vital interests demand the *closest* unity with the Russian proletariat in one party, that it is the height of folly to decide in advance whether the evolution of the Jewish people in free Russia will differ from its evolution in free Europe, that the Bund ought not to go beyond the demand (in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) for the complete autonomy in matters concerning the Jewish proletariat, which was fully recognised by the 1898 Congress and which has never been denied by anyone.

But let us return to the Bund's statement. It terms the footnote to the "Announcement" of the O.C. "ambiguous". This is an untruth that borders on malicious slander. A few lines later, the Bund's Central Committee itself admits that the "reasons for our representative's absence from the conference were purely accidental." And what did the O.C. say? It expressed the hope that it was only for accidental reasons that the representative of the Bund did not attend. You yourselves confirm this assumption and then grow angry over it. Why is that? Further. No one can know of accidental occurrences in advance. Hence, the assertion of the Bund's Foreign Committee that the O.C. *knew* the reasons that prevented the representative from appearing is absolutely unfounded. The Bund's Foreign Committee is in general playing a very unseemly part in this affair: the Bund's Foreign Committee supplements the statement of the Bund's Central Committee with its own inventions, which flatly contradict the words of even the C.C. itself! How could the

Bund's Foreign Committee ascertain that the O.C. *knew* the reasons for the Bund's absence, when it was the C.C. (and not the Foreign Committee) of the Bund that was invited, and when the C.C. itself says that the reasons for this absence were purely accidental??

"We are convinced," says the Bund's C.C., "that had the initiators of the conference taken a little more trouble, these accidental reasons could not have kept us from responding...." We would ask any impartial person: if two comrades who are preparing to get together in the O.C. admit in a single voice that the reasons which prevented the meeting were "purely accidental", is it not out of place and unseemly to *start a public polemic* on who is more to blame for the non-appearance? On our part, let us remark that we long ago expressed our regret (of course, not in the press, but in a letter) over the absence of the Bund, and we were informed that the Bund had been invited *twice*: first, by letter, and then by word of mouth through the X. Committee of the Bund.

The delegate arrived *almost a month after* the conference, the Bund complains. Yes, this is a terrible crime, and, of course, it deserves public exposure, since it lends particular conspicuousness to the punctuality of the Bund, which has not got round to sending a delegate even after two months have passed!

The delegate "did not keep his promise" to send the "Announcement" of the O.C. either in manuscript or in printed form, but *without fail* prior to its distribution.... We advise our Russian comrades not to talk to certain people without making a record of the conversation. We too were promised by the *Iskra* organisation that we would be sent both the manuscript and a printed copy of the "Announcement", but nevertheless we did not receive the manuscript at all, and saw the printed copy *much later* than members of organisations which have no contacts with the *Iskra* organisation. Let the Bundists decide the question of whether it would be seemly on our part if we began to publish accusations against the *Iskra* organisation of having broken its promise. The delegate of the O.C. promised the Bund's C.C. to write at once to the comrade charged with the printing of the "Announcement" about holding up the printing: this was *actually* promised (so far as we can judge from information at our disposal).

This promise was kept, but it was too late to stop the printing, since there was no time to get in touch with the printshop.

To sum up: the O.C. initiators wrote letters, made a personal announcement through the X. Committee, and sent a delegate to the Bund's Central Committee, while for months the Bund did not send *a single letter*, let alone a delegate! And yet the Bund comes out in the press with accusations! And strangely enough the Bund's Foreign Committee affirms that the initiators of the conference behaved "strangely", that their activities are decidedly at variance with their aim, that they displayed "haste" (the Bund's C.C., on the contrary, accuses them of slowness!), that they merely want to "create the impression" that the Bund "was indifferent"!!

We have still to say a few words about the charge against the O.C. that it has not drawn "the only correct conclusion", namely: "Since actually there is no party, the forthcoming congress should be in the nature of a constituent congress, and, therefore, the right to participate in it should be accorded to all Social-Democratic organisations in Russia, both Russian and those of all other nationalities." The Bund is trying to get round the unpleasant fact that, since it does not have a single centre, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party consists of a number of committees and organs, and possesses a "Manifesto" and resolutions of the First Congress, at which, incidentally, the Jewish proletariat was also represented by people who had not yet made their mark in "economist," terrorist, and nationalist waverings. By formally advancing the "right" of "all" nationalities to found the long-ago-founded Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the Bund manifestly confirms that it is precisely over the question of the notorious "federation" that it has raised the whole issue. But the Bund should be the last to raise this question, and it is not about "rights" that the issue should be raised among serious revolutionaries. Everyone knows that the question of cementing and uniting a basic nucleus of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is on the order of the day. We cannot but favour representation of "all" nationalities at the congress, but at the same time we must remember that we can think of *expanding* the nucleus or allying it with other organisations *only*

after the formation of this nucleus has been completed (or, at the very least, after there is no doubt about its stability) Until we have ourselves become united organisationally and have firmly set out along the correct path, amalgamation with us will not give anything to "all other" nationalities! And the answer to the question of the *possibility* (and not of the "right", gentlemen!) of "all other" nationalities being represented at our congress depends on a number of tactical and organisational steps by the O.C. and the Russian committees, depends, in short, on how successful the activity of the O.C. will be. It is a historical fact that from the very outset the Bund has tried to put a spoke in the wheel of the O.C.

Iskra, No. 33, February 1, 1903

Published according to the *Iskra* text

ON THE MANIFESTO OF THE LEAGUE OF THE ARMENIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

A new Social-Democratic organisation has made its appearance in the Caucasus: *The League of Armenian Social-Democrats*. This League, as we know, began its practical activities over half a year ago and already has its own paper, published in Armenian. We have received the first issue of this paper, which is called *Proletariat* and next to its title carries the inscription "Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party". It contains a number of articles, commentaries, and reports dealing with the social and political conditions which have called into existence the League of Armenian Social-Democrats, and giving a general outline of the programme of its activities.

The leading article, "Manifesto of the Armenian Social-Democrats", states: "In its activities, the League of Armenian Social-Democrats, as one of the branches of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party which extends the network of its organisations far and wide over the entire expanse of Russia, is in complete accord with the R.S.D.L.P., and will fight together with it for the interests of the Russian proletariat in general, and of the Armenian proletariat in particular." Further, after referring to the rapid development of capitalism in the Caucasus and the monstrously powerful and manifold results of this process, the authors go on to speak of the present state of the working-class movement in the Caucasus. In the industrial centres of the Caucasus, such as Baku, Tiflis, and Batum, with their big capitalist establishments and numerous industrial proletariat, this movement has already struck deep roots. However, because of the extremely low cultural level of the Caucasian workers,

their struggle against the employers has naturally been of a more or less instinctive, spontaneous nature till now. A force was necessary which could unite the workers' scattered forces, give their demands articulate form and develop class-consciousness among them. That force is socialism.

Then, after briefly setting forth the main theses of scientific socialism, the League explains its stand in relation to the present-day trends in international, and, in particular, Russian, Social-Democracy. "The attainment of the socialist ideal," says the Manifesto, "is, in our opinion, conceivable neither through the working class' efforts in the economic sphere nor through partial political and social reforms; it is possible only by completely smashing the entire existing system, by means of a social revolution, to which the political dictatorship of the proletariat must be the necessary prologue." Then, pointing out that the existing political system in Russia is hostile to every social movement, especially to that of the working class, the League declares that it sets itself the immediate task of politically educating the Armenian proletariat and drawing it into the struggle of the entire Russian proletariat for the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy. Without at all denying the need for the partial economic struggle of the workers against the employers, the League, however, does not consider it of importance in itself. The League recognises this struggle insofar as it improves the material condition of the workers and helps develop political consciousness and class solidarity among them.

Of particular interest to us is the League's attitude towards the national question. "Taking into consideration," says the Manifesto, "that the Russian state is made up of many different nationalities at varying levels of cultural development, and believing that only the extensive development of local self-government can safeguard the interests of these heterogeneous elements, we deem essential the establishment of a *federative* [italics ours] republic in the future free Russia. As to the Caucasus, in view of the extremely diverse national composition of its population, we shall strive to unite all the local socialist elements and all the workers of the various nationalities; we shall strive to create a united and strong Social-Democratic organisation,

for a more successful struggle against the autocracy. In the future Russia we shall recognise the right of all nations to free self-determination, since we regard national freedom as being only one of the aspects of civil liberties in general. Proceeding from this proposition, and taking into account the above-mentioned diverse national composition of the Caucasus and the absence of geographical boundaries between the various nationalities, we do not find it possible to include in our programme the demand for political autonomy for the Caucasian peoples; we demand only autonomy in matters pertaining to cultural life, i.e., freedom of language, schools, education, etc."

We whole-heartedly welcome the Manifesto of the League of Armenian Social-Democrats and especially its splendid attempt to give a correct presentation of the national question. It is highly desirable that this attempt be carried through to the end. Two fundamental principles by which all Social-Democrats in Russia should be guided in the national question *have been* quite correctly *outlined* by the League. These are, firstly, the demand for political and civil liberties and complete equality, rather than for national autonomy; and, secondly, the demand for the right to self-determination for every nationality forming part of the state. But neither of these principles is as yet quite consistently brought out by the League of Armenian Social-Democrats. As a matter of fact, is it possible *from the Armenian Social-Democrats' point of view* to speak of the demand for a *federative* republic? Federation *presupposes* autonomous national political units, whereas the League rejects the demand for national autonomy. To be fully consistent, the League should delete the demand for a *federative* republic from its programme, confining itself to the demand for a democratic republic in general. It is not the business of the proletariat to *preach* federalism and national autonomy; it is not the business of the proletariat to advance such demands, which inevitably amount to a demand for the establishment of an autonomous *class* state. It is the business of the proletariat to rally the greatest possible *masses* of workers of each and every nationality *more closely*, to rally them for struggle *in the broadest possible arena* for a democratic republic and for socialism. And since the state arena in which we are work-

ing today was created and is being maintained and extended by means of a series of outrageous acts of violence, then, to make the struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression successful, we must not disperse but unite the forces of the *working class*, which is the most oppressed and the most capable of fighting. The demand for recognition of every nationality's right to self-determination simply implies that we, the party of the proletariat, must always and unconditionally *oppose any attempt* to influence national *self*-determination from without *by violence or injustice*. While at all times performing this negative duty of ours (to fight and protest against violence), we on our part concern ourselves with the self-determination of the *proletariat* in each nationality rather than with self-determination of peoples or nations. Thus, the general, basic and ever-binding programme of Russian Social-Democracy must consist only in the demand for equal rights for all citizens (irrespective of sex, language, creed, race, nationality, etc.) and for their right to free democratic *self*-determination. As to *support* of the demand for *national* autonomy, it is by no means a permanent and binding part of the programme of the proletariat. This support may become necessary for it only in isolated and exceptional cases. With regard to Armenian Social-Democracy, the League of Armenian Social-Democrats has itself recognised the absence of such exceptional circumstances.

We hope to return to the question of federalism and nationality.* For the time being we shall conclude by once again welcoming a new member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party—the League of Armenian Social-Democrats.

Iskra, No. 33, February 1, 1903

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* See pp. 452-461 of this volume.—*Ed.*

DOES THE JEWISH PROLETARIAT NEED AN "INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY"?

No. 105 of *Posledniye Izvestia* (January 28/15, 1903), published by the Foreign Committee of the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia, carries a brief article entitled "Concerning a Certain Manifesto" (viz., the manifesto issued by the Ekaterinoslav Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) containing the following statement, which is as extraordinary as it is significant and indeed "fraught with consequences": "The Jewish proletariat has formed itself (*sic*!) into an independent (*sic*!) political party, the Bund."

We did not know this before. This is something new.

Hitherto the Bund has been a constituent part of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, and in No. 106 of *Posledniye Izvestia* we still (still!) find a statement of the Central Committee of the Bund, bearing the heading "Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party." It is true that at its latest congress, the Fourth, the Bund decided to change its name (without stipulating that it would like to hear the Russian comrades' opinion on the name a section of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party should bear) and to "introduce" new *federal* relations into the Rules of the Russian Party. The Bund's Foreign Committee has even "introduced" these relations, if that word can be used to describe the fact that it has withdrawn from the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad and has concluded a federal agreement with the latter.

On the other hand, when *Iskra* polemised with the decisions of the Bund's Fourth Congress, the Bund itself stated very definitely that it only wanted to *secure the acceptance*

of its wishes and *decisions* by the R.S.D.L.P.; in other words, it flatly and categorically acknowledged that until the R.S.D.L.P. adopted new Rules and settled new forms of its attitude towards the Bund, the latter would remain a section of the R.S.D.L.P.

But now, suddenly, we are told that the Jewish proletariat has already *formed itself* into an *independent* political party! We repeat—this is something new.

Equally new is the furious and foolish onslaught of the Bund's Foreign Committee upon the Ekaterinoslav Committee. We have at last (*though unfortunately after much delay*) received a copy of this manifesto, and we do not hesitate to say that in attacking a manifesto *like this* the Bund has *undoubtedly* taken a serious political step.* This step fully accords with the Bund's proclamation as an independent political party and throws much light on the physiognomy and behaviour of this new party.

We regret that lack of space prevents us from reprinting the Ekaterinoslav manifesto in full (it would take up about two columns in *Iskra***), and shall confine ourselves to remarking that this admirable manifesto excellently explains to the Jewish workers of the *city of Ekaterinoslav* (we shall presently explain why we have emphasised these words) the Social-Democratic attitude towards Zionism and anti-Semitism. Moreover, the manifesto treats the sentiments, moods, and desires of the Jewish workers so considerately, with such comradely consideration, that it specially refers to and emphasises the necessity of fighting under the banner of the R.S.D.L.P. "*even for the preservation and further development of your* [the manifesto addresses the Jewish workers] *national culture*", "*even from the standpoint of purely national interests*" (underlined and italicised in the manifesto itself).

Nevertheless, the Bund's Foreign Committee (we almost said the new party's Central Committee) has fallen upon the

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* That is, of course, if the Bund's Foreign Committee expresses the views of the Bund as a whole on this question.

** We intend to reprint in full the manifesto and the attack of the Bund's Foreign Committee in a pamphlet which we are preparing for the press.

manifesto for *making no mention of the Bund*. That is the manifesto's only crime, but one that is terrible and unpardonable. It is for this that the Ekaterinoslav Committee is accused of lacking in "political sense". The Ekaterinoslav comrades are chastised for not "yet having digested the idea of the necessity for a separate organisation [a profound and significant idea!] of the forces [!!l of the Jewish proletariat", for "still harbouring the absurd hope of somehow getting rid of it" (the Bund), for spreading the "no less dangerous fable" (no less dangerous than the Zionist fable) that anti-Semitism is connected with the bourgeois strata and with their interests, and not with those of the working class. That is why the Ekaterinoslav Committee is advised to "abandon the harmful habit of keeping silent about the independent Jewish working-class movement" and to "reconcile itself to the fact that the Bund exists".

Now, let us consider whether the Ekaterinoslav Committee is actually guilty of a crime, and whether it really should have mentioned the Bund without fail. Both questions can be answered only in the negative, for the simple reason that the manifesto is not addressed to the "Jewish workers" in general (as the Bund's Foreign Committee quite wrongly stated), but to "the Jewish workers of *the city of Ekaterinoslav*" (the Bund's Foreign Committee forgot to quote these last words!). *The Bund has no organisation* in Ekaterinoslav. (And, in general, regarding the south of Russia the Fourth Congress of the Bund passed a resolution *not to organise separate committees of the Bund* in cities where the Jewish organisations are included in the Party committees and where their needs can be fully satisfied without separation from the committees.) Since the Jewish workers in Ekaterinoslav are not organised in a separate committee, it follows that their movement (inseparably from the entire working-class movement in that area) is wholly guided by the Ekaterinoslav Committee, which subordinates them *directly* to the R.S.D.L.P., which *must* call upon them to work *for the whole Party*, and not for its individual sections. It is clear that under these circumstances the Ekaterinoslav Committee was not obliged to mention the Bund; on the contrary, if it had presumed to advocate "the necessity for a separate organisation of the forces [it would rather and more probably have been

an organisation of *impotence**] of the Jewish proletariat (which is what the Bundists want), it would have made a very grave error and committed a direct breach, not only of the Party Rules, but of the unity of the proletarian class struggle.

Further, the Ekaterinoslav Committee is accused of lack of "orientation" in the question of anti-Semitism. The Bund's Foreign Committee betrays truly infantile views on important social movements. The Ekaterinoslav Committee speaks of the *international* anti-Semitic movement of the *last decades* and remarks that "from Germany this movement spread to other countries and everywhere found adherents among the bourgeois, and not among the working-class sections of the population". "This is a no less dangerous fable" (than the Zionist fables), cries the thoroughly aroused Bund's Foreign Committee. Anti-Semitism "has struck roots in the mass of the workers", and to prove this the "well-oriented" Bund cites two facts: 1) workers' participation in a pogrom in Częstochowa and 2) the behaviour of 12 (*twelve*!) Christian workers in Zhitomir, who scabbed on the strikers and threatened to "kill off all the Yids". Very weighty proofs indeed, especially the latter! The editors of *Posledniye Izvestia* are so accustomed to dealing with big strikes involving five or ten workers that the behaviour of twelve ignorant Zhitomir workers is dragged out as evidence of the link between international anti-Semitism and one "section" or another "of the population". This is, indeed, magnificent! If, instead of flying into a foolish and comical rage at the Ekaterinoslav Committee, the Bundists had pondered a bit over this question and had consulted, let us say, Kautsky's pamphlet on the social revolution,[119] a Yiddish edition of which they themselves published-recently, they would have understood the link that *undoubtedly* exists

* It is this task of "organising impotence" that the Bund serves when, for example, it uses such a phrase as "our comrades of the 'Christian working-class organisation'". The phrase is as preposterous as is the whole attack on the Ekaterinoslav Committee. We have no knowledge of any "Christian" working-class organisations. Organisations belonging to the R.S.D.L.P. have never distinguished their members according to religion, never asked them about their religion and never *will*—even when the Bund will *in actual fact* "have formed itself into an independent political party".

between anti-Semitism and the interests of the bourgeois, and not of the working-class sections of the population. If they had given it a little more thought they might have realised that the social character of anti-Semitism today is not changed by the fact that dozens or even hundreds of unorganised workers, nine-tenths of whom are still quite ignorant, take part in a pogrom.

The Ekaterinoslav Committee has risen up (and rightly so) against the Zionist fable about anti-Semitism being eternal; by making its angry comment the Bund has only confused the issue and planted in the minds of the Jewish workers ideas which tend to *blunt* their class-consciousness.

From the viewpoint of the struggle for political liberty and for socialism being waged by the whole working class of Russia, the Bund's attack on the Ekaterinoslav Committee is the height of folly. From the viewpoint of the Bund as "an independent political party", this attack becomes understandable: don't dare anywhere organise "Jewish" workers together with, and inseparably from, "Christian" workers! If you would address the Jewish workers in the name of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party or its committees, don't dare do so directly, over our heads, ignoring the Bund or making no mention of it!

And this profoundly regrettable fact is not accidental. Having once demanded "federation" instead of autonomy in matters concerning the Jewish proletariat, you were *compelled* to proclaim the Bund an "independent political party" in order to carry out this principle of federation *at all costs*. However, your declaring the Bund an independent political party is just that reduction to an absurdity of your fundamental error in the national question which will inescapably and inevitably be the starting-point of a change in the views of the Jewish proletariat and of the Jewish Social-Democrats in general. "Autonomy" under the Rules adopted in 1898 provides the Jewish working-class movement with all it needs: propaganda and agitation in Yiddish, its own literature and congresses, the right to advance separate demands to supplement a single general Social-Democratic programme and to satisfy local needs and requirements arising out of the special features of Jewish life. In everything else there must be complete fusion with the Russian proletariat, in the inter-

ests of the struggle waged by the entire proletariat of Russia. As for the fear of being "steam-rollered" in the event of such fusion, the very nature of the case makes it groundless, since it is autonomy that is a guarantee against all steam-rollering" in matters pertaining specifically to the *Jewish* movement, while in matters pertaining to the struggle against the autocracy, the struggle against the bourgeoisie of Russia as a whole, we must act as a single and centralised militant organisation, have behind us the whole of the proletariat, without distinction of language or nationality, a proletariat whose unity is cemented by the continual joint solution of problems of theory and practice, of tactics and organisation; and we must not set up organisations that would march separately, each along its own track; we must not weaken the force of our offensive by breaking up into numerous independent political parties; we must not introduce estrangement and isolation and then have to heal an artificially implanted disease with the aid of these notorious "federation" plasters.

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MARXIST VIEWS ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION IN EUROPE AND IN RUSSIA[120]

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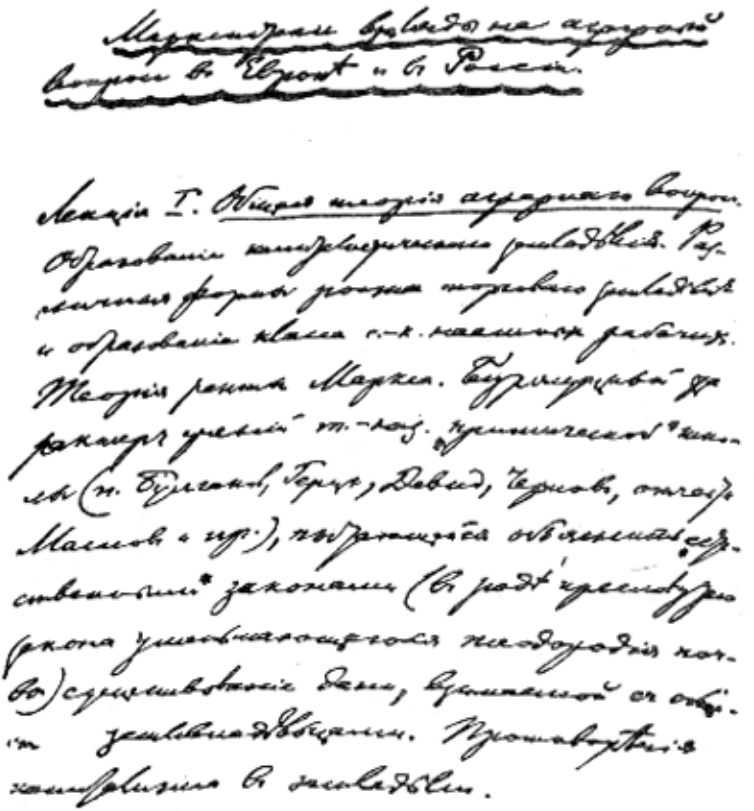

First page of Lenin's manuscript,
"Marxist Views on the Agrarian Question in Europe
and in Russia". 1903

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PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

Lecture I. *General Theory of the Agrarian Question*. Development of capitalist agriculture. Different forms of development of commercial agriculture and the formation of the class of agricultural wage-workers. Marx's theory of rent. Bourgeois character of the teachings of the so-called critical school (Messrs. Bulgakov, Hertz, David, Chernov, and in part Maslov, and others), which tries to explain by natural laws (such as the notorious law of diminishing returns) the existence of the tribute levied on society by the landed proprietors. Contradictions of capitalism in agriculture.

Lecture II. *Small- and Large-Scale Production in Agriculture*.

Efforts of the so-called critical school to obscure the slavery of the small producer in present-day society. An analysis of the monographic investigations completely misinterpreted by this school (M. Hecht, K. Klawki, Auhagen).

Lecture III. *Continuation*. The Baden questionnaire. Complete confirmation of Marxist views by its returns. General data of German agrarian statistics. Fable about the latifundian degeneration of big capital. Machinery in agriculture. Greatest deterioration of draught cattle in middle-peasant households. Co-operatives in agriculture; German general statistics of 1895 on dairy co-operatives. Difference in form between co-operatives in agriculture and trusts in industry, which prevented the so-called critical school from understanding the complete identity of both in their social and economic content.

Lecture IV. *Presentation of the Agrarian Question in Russia*. Foundations of the Narodnik world outlook and its historical significance as a primitive form of agrarian

democracy. Central significance of the question of the peasantry (the village commune and people's production). Disintegration of the peasantry into the rural bourgeoisie and rural proletariat. Methods of studying this process and its significance. Replacement of the corvée system by the capitalist system of economy. Reactionary character of Narodnik views. Requirements of the current historical moment: elimination of the remnants of the serf-owning system and free development of the class struggle in the countryside.

OUTLINE OF LECTURE ONE

GENERAL THEORY

Marx's theory of the development of the capitalist mode of production applies to agriculture just as it does to industry. Capitalism's basic features and its different forms in agriculture and industry should not be confused.

Let us examine the characteristic basic features and the specific forms of the process which creates the capitalist system in agriculture. The cause of the appearance of this process is a double one: 1) commodity production and 2) the fact that labour-power, not the product, is a commodity. When this labour-power is drawn into exchange, all production becomes capitalistic, and a special class, the proletariat, is created. The growth of commodity production and the development of wage-labour in agriculture take place in a different form than in industry, and the application of Marx's theory here may therefore seem incorrect; it is, however, necessary to know the form in which agriculture becomes capitalistic. To this end it is essential in the first place to establish two facts:

I. How does commercial agriculture grow? and

II. How does the formation of the working class manifest itself?

I. The basic feature of this process is the rapid growth of the industrial population and the sale of products on the market. Hence, extensive growth of the non-agricultural population is necessary for the extensive development of commodity agriculture. This process assumes different

forms and is to be observed in countries which import and export grain. On its part, the rapid growth of the industrial population creates a shortage of grain in the industrial countries, i.e., makes it impossible to do without imported grain if the technological system remains unchanged. The growing demand for grain under private ownership of the land leads to the formation of monopoly prices.

That is important for the explanation of rent.

The very process of the formation of commercial agriculture does not take place in exactly the same way as in factory industry: in industry it takes place in a simple and direct form, whereas in agriculture we see something different: the prevalence of a mixture of commercial and non-commercial agriculture. Here we have a combination of different forms. In the main, in a given locality *one* definite product is taken to the market. On the one hand, production on the landlord's estate, and particularly on the peasant's land, is commodity production, while on the other hand it retains its consumer character.

The necessity to obtain money brings about the transition from natural to commercial economy. The power of money weighs upon the peasants, not only in Western Europe, but in Russia too. Zemstvo statistics show that the peasants' subordination to the market attains colossal proportions even in places where the survivals of patriarchal economy are still very strong.

II. The process by which the class of wage-workers is formed consists in the disintegration of the peasantry into two strata: 1) farmers who regard agriculture as an industry, and 2) wage-workers. This process is often described as the differentiation of the peasantry. In Russia in particular this process has been very conspicuous. It was observed by "economists" as far back as the times of the feudal system.

Specific features of formation.

This process takes place unevenly. Alongside of the emergence of a class of wage-workers we see the existence of the patriarchal system and the formation of the new, capitalist system. The wage-workers' class is connected with the land in one way or another: the forms of this process will consequently be very varied.

DOMINATION OF CAPITALIST AGRICULTURE

Rent

The population in a capitalist country is divided into three classes: 1) wage-workers, 2) owners of land, and 3) capitalists. In studying the system it will be necessary to ignore specific local features where this distinct division may not yet exist.

According to Marx, a product is basically divided into necessary and surplus-product. A certain part of this surplus-product constitutes ground rent, viz., that part which remains after the deduction of average profit on capital. In a developed capitalist society, average profit is formed under the influence of competition, which distributes the surplus-product among the capitalists, not in proportion to the number of workers, but in proportion to the total amount of capital invested in a given enterprise.

The process of the formation of average profit is analysed by Marx in Volume III of *Capital*. Capital will yield different profits on plots of land with varying fertility, the poorer land yielding less profit, and the better land—more, additional profit. (The theory of rent was founded before Marx by Ricardo.) Owing to monopoly prices on the grain market and the general shortage of grain, the price is determined by the poorest plot of land. The extra profit derived from the better land, or from the land situated close to the market, as compared with the poorer and more remotely situated plot, is called *differential* rent, according to Marx.

Rent is extracted from the farmers by the owners of land.

The varying amounts of surplus-profit may be of two kinds: 1) profit due to varying fertility, and 2) profit due to different application of capital. Further. In addition to the monopoly of private cultivation of the land, there is the monopoly of private ownership of the land: the owner of land may not give the land to the farmer until the price of grain rises, and then he takes *absolute* rent, which is an elementary monopoly. It may be: 1) a pure monopoly (in that case, strictly speaking, it should not be called rent). Secondly, absolute rent may be taken from surplus-profit on agrarian capital owing to the following circumstance. In

view of the fact that in agriculture the technical equipment is poorer, the share of variable capital (=which creates profit) is higher than in industry. The share of profit should therefore also be higher in agriculture than in industry. However, the monopoly of landownership prevents the levelling of high profit in agriculture and low profit in industry. And absolute rent in the strict sense of the term is taken from the higher agricultural profit which has not been levelled out. It has its source in higher grain prices. Differential rent, on the other hand, is taken from the product. Recent years, characterised by new countries being drawn into trade, have led to a crisis.

The price of land is calculated, anticipated rent. It is therefore treated as income from a certain capital. The capital to be spent on the purchase of land may yield an average rent income. Consequently, the rapid development of industry has greatly inflated and stabilised rent in Europe.

A large section of Maslov's book, recently published under the title *Conditions of the Development of Agriculture in Russia*, deals with the theory of rent, and in this question Maslov adheres to an entirely erroneous viewpoint, repeating the arguments of the bourgeois so-called "critics" of Marx, such as Mr. Bulgakov and others. Marx showed that the old English political economy took too simple a view of this question; it was treated not as a process creating special historical conditions, but as one creating natural conditions, and it reasoned therefore: rent is formed owing to the necessity of transition from the better to the poorer plots of land. But changes in the reverse direction also take place, inasmuch as improvements are effected. The critics have retreated from Marx towards bourgeois economy.

Another narrow concept of the theory of rent is one that combines the law governing the formation of differential rent with the law of diminishing returns, which alleges that profits diminish on one and the same plot of land. Ricardo explains the transition from the better plots to the poorer ones by the *impossibility* of applying increasing amounts of capital. All the Russian "critics" have taken up the defence of the theory of diminishing returns, as has

Maslov, who in all other questions wants to remain a Marxist. But the arguments in defence of this theory have not gone beyond quips, as, for example, the one which claims that if this theory is not recognised then it must be admitted that the returns of one plot of land should be enough to feed a whole state.

Marx fought against this theory. It adopts an arithmetical approach to the expenditure of capital and falls into error by ignoring general economic conditions. If we assume that the application of ever greater amounts of capital is always possible, then it would have been correct, but that presupposes the transformation of systems; however, systems in agriculture persist for ages, which has placed the application of capital within definite limits. If techniques do not change, then further application of capital is impossible, or possible within narrow limits. Marx pointed out that in industry too production cannot be developed infinitely on a given plot of land: if a definite territory is occupied by an enterprise, it has to be expanded if it is to be developed. *If*, on the other hand, land is rationally cultivated, that can only improve production; therefore Marx deduces that, far from being a disadvantage, such use of the land is, on the contrary, profitable. Precisely this "*if*" was ignored by the opponents of Marx's theory. Consequently, Maslov, as an alleged Marxist, can mislead many people by his views in this question. His book is one of the countless examples of a tendency to be seen in our time: going back instead of forward.

There is an absolute decline in the agricultural population, but agricultural production is making progress. In the nineteenth century this progress was closely connected with the growth of commodity agriculture. It brings out one of the main features of the capitalist system today, which is expressed in the development of competition in agriculture, in the creation of a market for it, and in the differentiation of the population. This progress has given a strong stimulus to the development of agriculture, but every step in this progress has been attended by a rise of contradictions which make it impossible to use all the productive forces of the new, scientific agriculture. Capitalism creates large-scale production and competition,

which are attended by rapacious use of the productive forces of the soil. Concentration of the population in the cities creates depopulated territories and an abnormal metabolism! Cultivation of the land is not improved, or not improved as it should be.

Socialist critics directed attention to this fact a long time ago (Marx). Mr. Hertz, and, later, Messrs. Bulgakov, Chernov, and Struve here in Russia maintained that the theory of Marx, who relied upon Liebig, had become antiquated. This opinion of the "critics" is quite fallacious. There is no doubt that capitalism has upset the equilibrium between the exploitation of the land and fertilisation of the land (the role of the separation of the town from the countryside). With many writers who sympathise with the "criticism" of the Marxist theory rather than with this theory itself, their own data speak against them. An example is Nossig. According to his data, it would appear that the productive forces of the soil are not replenished, that the land does not get back what is taken from it. Both manure and artificial fertilisers are required. One-third of an average of 60,000 kilograms of fertilisers used per hectare of land should be made up of manure, but that cannot be provided under the existing system of agriculture.

Thus, the influence of capitalism in agriculture is expressed in the following:

It demands freedom for the wage-worker and ousts all forms of the old bondage. But the agricultural wage-workers remain oppressed. Their oppression has become greater, which has created the need for greater struggle.

Capitalism has increased to a tremendous degree the tribute exacted by the owner of land, the magnitude of differential and absolute rent. The further development of agriculture is hampered by inflated rent.

THE AUTOCRACY IS WAVERING....

The autocracy is wavering. The autocrat himself publicly admits this to the people. That is the enormous significance of the tsar's Manifesto of February 26, and no amount of conventional phrases, none of the reservations or subterfuges the Manifesto abounds in, can alter the historic importance of the step that has been taken.

The tsar begins in the old way—*as yet* in the old way: "by the grace of God" ... and concludes with a half-cowardly, half-hypocritical appeal for help addressed to people invested with *public confidence*. The tsar himself already feels that the days when government in Russia could maintain itself by the grace of God are passing never to return and that henceforth the only stable government Russia can have is government *by the will of the people*.

The tsar reaffirms his sacred vow to safeguard the age-old pillars of the Russian Empire. Translated into Russian from the language of officialdom, this means: to safeguard the autocracy. Alexander III once declared that openly and without circumlocution (in the Manifesto of April 29, 1881), when the revolutionary movement was receding and dwindling. Today, when the battle-cry "Down with the autocracy" is resounding ever more loudly and impressively, Nicholas II prefers to cover his declaration with a small fig-leaf and to make a modest reference to his unforgettable progenitor. A senseless and contemptible stratagem! The question of whether or not the autocracy is to be has been raised point-blank and carried into the streets. And every promise of "reforms"—if they may be called "reforms"!—that begins with a promise to preserve the autocracy is

a glaring lie, a mockery of the Russian people. But there is nothing that could serve to expose the government in the eyes of the whole people better than this governmental appeal to the people with hypocritical and false promises.

The tsar speaks (again using a fig-leaf) about the revolutionary movement, complaining that "sedition" interferes with the work of improving public welfare, agitates minds, tears the people away from productive labour, ruins forces dear to the heart of the tsar, ruins the youthful forces indispensable to the fatherland. And so, *since* the ruined participants in the revolutionary movement are dear to the tsar's heart, *therefore* he at once promises to ruthlessly suppress every deviation from the normal course of social life, i.e., to brutally persecute free speech, workers' strikes, and popular demonstrations.

That is enough, more than enough. This Jesuitical speech speaks for itself. We merely make so bold as to express the conviction that by being spread throughout the length and breadth of Russia this "tsarist pledge" will act as most splendid propaganda in favour of revolutionary demands. There is only one answer that this pledge of the tsar's can evoke from anyone who has the least spark of honour left in him: the *demand* for the immediate and unconditional release of *all* persons who have been imprisoned, exiled or arrested—with or without trial, before or after sentence has been passed—for political or religious considerations, or because of strike activities or resistance to the authorities.

We have seen the hypocrisy of the tsar's speech. Let us now see *what* he speaks about.

He speaks mainly about three things. First, about tolerance. Our fundamental laws which guarantee freedom of worship for all faiths are to be confirmed and upheld. But the Russian Orthodox Church shall remain dominant. Secondly, the tsar speaks about a revision of legislation relating to rural affairs, about people who enjoy public confidence taking part in this revision, and about joint efforts on the part of all his subjects to raise moral standards in the family, the school, and public life. Thirdly, about

making it easier for the peasants to leave their village communes, about releasing the peasants from the restrictions of collective liability.

In answer to Nicholas II's three declarations, promises, and proposals, Russian Social-Democracy replies with three demands which it long ago raised, and has always defended and popularised to the best of its ability, and which we must now reaffirm most emphatically in connection with the tsar's Manifesto and in answer to it.

First, we demand the immediate and unconditional recognition by law of the freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, and an amnesty for all "political prisoners" and members of religious sects. Until that is done, all talk about tolerance and freedom of worship will remain a miserable pretence and a discreditable lie. Until freedom of assembly, speech, and the press is proclaimed, there will be no end to the shameful Russian inquisition, which hounds the profession of officially unsanctioned faiths, opinions, and doctrines. Down with the censorship! Down with police and gendarme protection of the "established" church! For these demands the class-conscious proletariat of Russia will fight to the last drop of blood.

Secondly, we demand the convocation of a national Constituent Assembly which will be elected by all citizens without exception and will establish an elective form of government in Russia. Enough of this game of conferences of local people, of landlords' parliaments under the governors, of representative government by the Marshals (and perhaps by the delegates as well?) of the Nobility! Enough of this cat-and-mouse game which the all-powerful officialdom has been playing with all kinds of Zemstvos, now letting them go, now stroking them with its velvet paws! Until a national assembly of deputies is called, all talk of public confidence and moral standards in public life will be a pack of lies. Until then the Russian working class will not abate its revolutionary struggle against the Russian autocracy.

Thirdly, we demand the immediate and unconditional recognition by law of the full equality of the peasants with all other social-estates, and the convocation of *peasant committees* for the abolition of all remnants of serfdom in

the countryside and the adoption of serious measures to improve the conditions of the peasantry.

The absence of rights for the peasantry, which constitutes nine-tenths of the population of Russia, cannot be tolerated a day longer. The entire working class and the entire country are suffering from this absence of rights; it is on this that all the Asiatic backwardness in Russian life rests; it is owing to this absence of rights that all the various conferences and commissions produce no results (*or are injurious to the peasants*). Now, too, the tsar wants to escape by invoking the former "conferences" of bureaucrats and noblemen; he even speaks of "strong government" to guide the efforts of the local forces. The peasants know full well from the example of the rural superintendents what this "strong government" means. Not in vain have the peasants endured forty years of poverty, want and constant starvation after the benefactions bestowed on them by the committees of nobles. Now the peasants will understand that all "reforms" and improvements will remain a sham if they are not put into effect *by the peasants themselves*. The peasants will understand—and we shall help them to understand—that only *peasant committees* are capable of really abolishing not only collective liability but all survivals of the corvée system and serfdom, which are still oppressing tens of millions of people right into the twentieth century. Freedom of assembly and freedom of the press are quite enough for the urban workers: we shall be able to make good use of these liberties!! But for the peasants, scattered in out-of-the-way places, and cowed and reduced to a state of barbarism, this is not enough—and the workers must help them, must explain to them that they will unavoidably and inescapably remain miserable slaves until they take their destiny into their own hands, until they take their first and most important step and achieve the establishment of *peasant committees* for real and not sham emancipation of the peasantry.

Intelligent and experienced people have long observed that there is no more precarious moment for a government in a revolutionary period than the beginning of concessions, the beginning of waverings. Russian political life of the last few years has brilliantly confirmed this. The govern-

ment began to waver on the question of the working-class movement, giving a free hand to Zubatovism—and made a laughing-stock of itself, playing splendidly into the hands of revolutionary agitation. The government wanted to make concessions on the student question—and made a laughing-stock of itself, advancing the revolutionisation of the students by seven-league strides. The government is now repeating on a large scale the very same method with regard to all questions of home policy—and it will inevitably make a laughing-stock of itself, inevitably facilitate, strengthen and add impetus to the revolutionary onslaught on the autocracy!

* * *

There is still another question we must deal with, and that is the practical question of how to use the tsar's Manifesto of February 26 for purposes of agitation. The Russian Social-Democrats long ago answered the question as to the means of struggle by saying: organisation and agitation; neither were they put out by the jeers of naïve people who considered this "indefinite", and held that the only "definite" means were pistol shots. And now, at a moment like the present, when such a welcome cue for conducting agitation on a nation-wide scale unexpectedly presents itself, one which so urgently demands the exertion of our every effort—at such a moment, a deficiency, the old self-same deficiency in organisation, in ability rapidly to set our agitation going, makes itself felt more keenly than ever.

But we shall yet make up for lost time, make up for it many times over!

First of all, we must reply to the Manifesto of February 26 with leaflets published by central and local Party organisations. Whereas hitherto leaflets were issued in tens of thousands for all Russia, they should now be distributed in millions, so that the whole people may learn of the answer of the class-conscious Russian proletariat to the tsar's appeal to the people, so that all may see our definite, practical demands in juxtaposition with the speech of the tsar *on the same subject*.

Further. We must not allow reverential raptures of legal meetings of well-intentioned Zemstvoists and noblemen,

merchants and professors, etc., etc., to be the only reply to the Manifesto of February 26. Nor will the replies that Social-Democratic organisations will give in their leaflets prove sufficient. Let *every study circle*, *every meeting of workers* draw up its own answer and ratify formally and solemnly the demands of Social-Democracy. Let the decisions of these workers' meetings (and, if possible, also of peasants' meetings) be published in local leaflets and reported in our press. Let all know that we consider answers from the workers and peasants themselves the only answer from the people. And let all study circles begin to prepare immediately to back up our fundamental demands *with force*.

Moreover, we must not allow messages of gratitude to the tsar to be drawn up at all sorts of meetings, without counteraction. Our liberals have falsified Russian public opinion long enough! Long enough have they lied, saying not what they themselves think, or what the entire reasoning and militant section of the people thinks! We must endeavour to get into their meetings, declare our opinion there, too, as widely, publicly and openly as possible, voice our protest against servile gratitude, give our *real* answer to the tsar, and declare it by distributing leaflets as well as by speaking publicly, whenever possible, at all such meetings (even though the chairmen will try to stop such speeches).

Finally, we must try to bring the answer of the workers out on to the street, to broadcast our demands through demonstrations, and to show publicly the numbers and strength of the workers, their class-consciousness and determination. Let the coming May Day celebration be not only a general declaration of our proletarian demands, but also a special and definite answer to the Manifesto of February 26!

Iskra, No. 35, March 1, 1903

Published according to the *Iskra* text

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

MR. STRUVE EXPOSED BY HIS COLLEAGUE

No. 17 of *Osvobozhdeniye* produced much that is gratifying to *Iskra* in general, and to the author of these lines in particular. To *Iskra* because it was gratifying for it to see that its endeavours to push Mr. Struve to the Left had yielded some result; it was gratifying to see Mr. S. S. indulging in sharp criticism of half-heartedness, gratifying to read about the intention of the *Osvobozhdeniye* people to create "openly and definitely a constitutional party" with a programme demanding universal suffrage. To the author of these lines because Mr. S. S.—"who took a prominent part" in drawing up the declaration "of the Russian constitutionalists" in No. 1 of *Osvobozhdeniye*, and hence is no mere collaborator, but to some extent the *master* of Mr. Struve—has unexpectedly rendered us a great service in our polemic *against Mr. Struve*. I shall take the liberty of beginning with this second point. No. 2-3 of *Zarya* carried an article of mine entitled "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism",* in which I polemised against Mr. R. N. S., who had written a preface to the well-known Witte memorandum. In this article I revealed the ambiguity of the entire stand taken by Mr. R. N. S., when he spoke of his Hannibal vow to fight against the autocracy and at the same time addressed unctuous speeches to the powers that be, to the sage conservatives, at the same time advancing the "formula" of "Rights, and an Authoritative Zemstvo", etc., etc. Now that the second edition of the "Memorandum" has appeared, the public has learned that this Mr. R. N. S. is—Mr. Struve. Mr. Struve was highly displeased with my criticism, and he came down heavily on me with his extremely lengthy and extremely irate "Note to a Note".

Let us examine Mr. Struve's arguments.

The first example of the "groundlessness and injustice"

* See present edition, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

of my "polemical masterpiece" is that I spoke about Mr. Struve's antipathy against revolutionaries, despite his "alleged absolutely clear statement". Let me cite this statement in full. "The testimonial presented to the Zemstvo by the bureaucracy itself," Mr. Struve wrote, "is an excellent reply to all those who, because of an inadequate political education or because they are carried away by revolutionary phrases, refused and persist in refusing to see the great political importance of the Russian Zemstvos and their legal cultural activity." In a note to this tirade, Mr. Struve made the reservation: "By these words we do not intend in the least to give offence to the revolutionaries, to whom credit must be accorded above all for their moral courage in the struggle against despotism."

These are the "documents in the case" of groundless and unjust criticism. We leave it to the reader to judge who is right: the person who found this statement absolutely clear, or the person who has found that Mr. Struve has only made matters worse by "giving offence" to revolutionaries (*without naming them concretely*), not only with the "anonymous" charge of ignorance (it is not known against whom it is levelled), but also with the assumption that they can be made to swallow the pill of an accusation of ignorance if only it is gilded with recognition of their "moral courage".

For my part, I shall merely remark that tastes differ. Many liberals consider it the height of tact and wisdom to present the revolutionaries with testimonials to their courage, at the same time treating their programme as mere phrase-mongering, as a sign of an inadequate education, *without even analysing the substance* of their views. To our way of thinking, this is neither tact nor wisdom, but a piece of discreditable evasion. It is a matter of taste. The Russian Thiers, of course, appreciate the genteel drawing room parlance, the irreproachably parliamentarian *opportunist phrase-mongering* of the real Thiers.

To proceed. I, if you please, "pretended not to understand that the formula 'an Authoritative all-Russian Zemstvo' signifies the demand for a constitution", and my arguments on this score "confirm once more [so Mr. Struve thinks] the widespread occurrence of real revolutionary phrase-mongering, and malevolently biased phrase-mongering at

that, in our literature issued abroad [this disgusting literary style is particularly rife in the columns of *Iskra* and *Zarya*]", p. xii of the second edition of the "Memorandum". Well, as to being malevolently biased, it is difficult for us to dispute this point with Mr. Struve: what to him is a reproach we consider a compliment. What the liberals and many radicals call bias is actually unshakable firmness of conviction, while sharp criticism of erroneous views is termed "malevolent" by them. There is nothing to be done about it. *Mea culpa*, *mea maxima culpa!* I have been and shall continue to be "malevolently biased" against Messrs. the Struves. Then there is the other charge—on a matter of fact. Did I pretend not to understand or did I actually fail to understand, and was it impossible to understand? That is the question.

I maintained that the formula "Rights, and an Authoritative Zemstvo" means unseemly playing up to the political prejudices of the broad mass of Russian liberals, that this is "*not a banner that can serve to distinguish enemies from allies*" (take note of this!), but "a rag which can only help to attract the most unreliable characters to the movement" (p. 95 in No. 2-3 of *Zarya*).* Let me ask all and sundry: where is there any "pretence" on my part here?? I frankly state my opinion that this is not a banner but a rag, and I get the answer: you are pretending not to understand! This is indeed nothing but a new attempt to avoid an analysis of the question *in essence*, the question whether the "formula" is best fit to be a banner or a rag!

Nor is that all. Thanks to the kind assistance of Mr. S. S., I am now able to *adduce facts to prove* something much more important. I can prove that there was "unseemly playing up" on the part of Mr. Struve, not only in the sense of philistine doctrinairism intended to move the government with its modesty, not only in the sense of an irrational desire to unite the "liberals" around a minimum, but also in the sense of open and *direct* "*playing up*" *to supporters of the autocracy who are well known at such to Mr. Struve*. Mr. S. S. exposes Mr. Struve mercilessly and irretrievably by saying that the "obscure and ambiguous

* See present edition, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

[mark that!] Slavophil slogan of the 'Zemsky Sobor'"[121] is being advanced to suit the purposes of the "unnatural alliance" between the liberal constitutionalists and the liberal advocates of an ideal autocracy. Mr. S. S. says that this is no more and no less than "political juggling"!! And Mr. Struve acknowledges receipt ... by terming the slogan of a Zemsky Sobor "vague and *valuable by very reason of its vagueness* [italics ours!] and at the same time dangerous."

Pretty good, isn't it? When a Social-Democrat called an *even more ambiguous* slogan (an Authoritative Zemstvo) unseemly playing up, Mr. Struve donned the mantle of injured innocence and spoke in mincing accents about a pretended failure to understand. But when a liberal, Mr. S. S., *repeated the very same thing*, Mr. Struve made grateful obeisance and acknowledged receipt! By reason of its very vagueness, a vague slogan was of *value* to Mr. Struve, who is not embarrassed in the least to admit that he is prepared to launch dangerous slogans as well, *depending on the way the wind blows*. If Mr. Shipov appears to be strong and influential, then the editor of this liberal newspaper will speak about an Authoritative Zemstvo. If Mr. S. S. appears to be strong and influential, then the editor of this liberal newspaper will speak about a constitution and universal suffrage! Not a bad picture of the political practices and political ethics in the liberal camp.... Mr. Struve forgets only to consider what value his statements will have after this magnificent metamorphosis: in January 1901 Mr. Struve demanded "Rights, and an Authoritative Zemstvo"; in December 1902 Mr. Struve declared that it was a "pretence" not to understand that this was a demand for a constitution; in February 1903 Mr. Struve stated that in essence he had never questioned the justice of universal suffrage and that the vague slogan of a Zemsky Sobor was valuable just because it was vague. The question arises: *what right* now has any person active in politics, any Russian citizen, to assert that *tomorrow Mr. Struve will not launch a new slogan "valuable by very reason of its vagueness*"??

Let us pass to the last point of Mr. Struve's reply. "Is it not revolutionary phrase-mongering," he asks, "or absolutely lifeless doctrinairism for Mr. T. P.[122] to argue that the Zemstvo is an instrument for strengthening the

autocracy?" Mr. Struve sees in this an assimilation of the ideas of the Slavophils, agreement with Goremykin,[123] and the Herculean pillars of a lifeless doctrine. Mr. Struve is absolutely incapable of understanding the *revolutionary* attitude towards half-hearted reforms undertaken for the purpose of *avoiding a revolution*. To Mr. Struve every reference to the double game played by the reformers from above appears to be Slavophilism and reaction, just as all the European Yves Guyots declare the socialist criticism of private property to be reactionary! It is, of course, not surprising that once Mr. Struve *has become* a reformer, he has lost the ability to understand the dual nature of reforms and their significance as an instrument to strengthen the domination of the rulers, strengthen it at the price of granting reforms. But ... there was a time when Mr. Struve understood this amazingly cunning manoeuvre. That was long ago, when he was "a bit of a Marxist", and when we fought together against the Narodniks in the columns of the now defunct *Novoye Slovo*.[124] In the July 1897 issue of this periodical, Mr. Struve wrote about N. V. Vodovozov: "I remember a conversation we had in the street in 1890—I had just returned from a summer trip through Germany, full of new and strong impressions—a conversation on Wilhelm II's social policy and plans of reform. Vodovozov attached importance to them and did not agree with me, to whom the question of the significance of the fact and idea of the so-called 'social monarchy' was at that time (and so much the more so at present) decided once and for all in the negative. Vodovozov viewed the *idea* of social reform in the abstract, divorced from the real social forces that create it. That is why he considered Catholic socialism in the main a peculiar ideological movement in favour of social reform and not a specific form of preventative reaction to the growing working-class movement on the part of the European bourgeoisie, and partly also of the remnants of European feudalism...." So you see: in the distant past, at the time of his youthful infatuations, Mr. Struve understood that reforms may be a preventative reaction, i.e., a measure to prevent the ruling classes from falling, and directed against the revolutionary class, even though it does improve the condition of this

class. I put it to the reader: who, then, is right? Was it "revolutionary phrase-mongering" I indulged in when I exposed the reformist one-sidedness of Mr. Struve's attitude towards a reform such as the Zemstvo, or has Mr. Struve *become wiser* and abandoned "once and for all" the position of a revolutionary which he at one time defended (allegedly once and for all)? Have I become a champion of the Slavophils and Goremykin, or did the "strong impressions" of his trip through socialist Germany last Mr. Struve only a few years??

Yes, indeed, there are different conceptions of *the strength* of impressions, of the force of convictions, of the significance of convictions, of the compatibility of political ethics and political conviction with the launching of slogans which are valuable by reason of their vagueness....

In conclusion I cannot but remark on several statements of Mr. Struve's that considerably "mar" the pleasant impression produced by his turn to the Left. Although he has advanced only one democratic demand (universal suffrage) Mr. Struve is already making haste to speak of a "liberal *democratic* party". Is this not somewhat premature? Would it not be better *first* to definitely indicate all the *democratic* transformations which the Party demands *unconditionally* not only in the agrarian and workers programme but in the *political* programme as well, and only then to paste on a label, only then claim promotion from the "rank" of liberal to the rank of liberal democrat? After all, universal suffrage is a *minimum* of democracy that has been recognised even by some conservatives who (in Europe) have become reconciled to elections in general. But for some reason or other, Mr. Struve does not go beyond this minimum either in No. 17 or in No. 18. Further, we shall note, in passing, Mr. Struve's curious remark that the problem of socialism must be put entirely aside by the liberal democratic party "primarily because socialism is actually only a problem so far". Is it not, most esteemed Mr. Struve, because the "liberal democratic" elements of Russian society express the interests of the classes that *oppose* the socialist demands of the proletariat? I repeat, this is said merely in passing, in order to note the new *methods* used by the liberals to "negate" socialism. Actually, of course,

Mr. Struve is right when he says that the liberal "democratic" party is not a socialist party and that it would not be fitting for it to pose as such.

As to the tactics of the new party, Mr. Struve could not have expressed himself more vaguely. That is very regrettable. And it is even more regrettable that he repeats again and again, and stresses the necessity of "two-in-one" tactics in the sense of a "skilful, flexible and indissoluble combination" of legal and illegal methods of action. At best, this is an evasion of the urgent questions connected with the methods of *illegal* activities. And this is a pressing question because it is only systematic illegal activity that actually determines the physiognomy of the *party*. At worst, this is a repetition of the wriggling used by Mr. Struve when he wrote about "Rights, and an Authoritative Zemstvo", and not about an openly and definitely constitutional and "democratic" party. Every illegal party "combines" illegal with legal activities *in the sense* that it relies on the masses, who do not participate directly in illegal activities, that it supports legal protests, utilises legal opportunities for propaganda, organisation, etc. This is generally known, and it is not this that is meant when the tactics of an *illegal party* are discussed. The point in question is the irrevocable recognition of *struggle* by this party, elaboration of methods of struggle, the *duty* of party members not to *limit themselves* to legal protests, but to subordinate *everything without exception* to the interests and demands of the *revolutionary struggle*. If there is no systematic illegal activity and revolutionary struggle, then there is no *party* that can really be *constitutional* (let alone democratic). And no greater harm can be done to the cause of the struggle than by *confusing* revolutionary work, which is based on the broad masses, makes use of mass organisations, and facilitates the political training of legal party functionaries, with work *restricted* within legal bounds.

Iskra, No. 37, April 1, 1903

Published according to the *Iskra* text

TO THE RURAL POOR

An Explanation for the Peasants of What the Social-Democrats Want[125]

Written in March 1903

First published as a separate pamphlet in May 1903, in Geneva, by the League of Russian Social-Democracy Abroad

Published according to the text of the pamphlet

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РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛЬДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ.

Пролетаріи всѣхъ странъ, соединяйтесь!

Н. ЛЕНИНЪ

Къ деревенской бѢднотѢ.

Объясненіе для крестьянъ, чего хотятъ соціальдемократы.

Съ приложеніемъ
Проекта программы Россійской Соціальдемократической Рабочей Партіи.

Изданіе Загран. Лиги Русск. Революціонной Соціальдемократіи.

ЖЕНЕВА
Типографія Лиги, Route Caroline, 27.
1903

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet
To the Rural Poor, 1903

Reduced

Cover of Lenin's pamphlet
To the Rural Poor, 1903
Reduced

1. THE STRUGGLE OF THE URBAN WORKERS

Many peasants have probably already heard about the labour unrest in the towns. Some of them have themselves been in the capitals and in the factories, and have seen the riots, as the police call them. Others know workers who were involved in the unrest and were deported to their villages by the authorities. Others again must have seen the leaflets issued by the workers, or pamphlets about the workers' struggle. Still others have only heard stories about what is going on in the towns from people with first-hand experience.

Formerly, only students rebelled, but now thousands and tens of thousands of workers have risen in all the big towns. In most cases they fight against their employers, against the factory owners, against the capitalists. The workers declare strikes, all of them stop work at a factory at the same time and demand higher wages, demand that they should be made to work not eleven or ten hours a day, but only eight hours. The workers also demand other things that would make the working man's life easier. They want the workshops to be in better condition and the machines to be protected by special devices so as to prevent them from maiming the workers; they want their children to be able to go to school and the sick to be given proper aid in the hospitals; they want the workers' homes to be like human dwellings instead of being like pigsties.

The police intervene in the workers' struggle. The police seize workers, throw them into prison, deport them without trial to their villages, or even to Siberia. The government has passed laws banning strikes and workers' meetings. But the workers wage their fight against the police and against the government. The workers say: We,

millions of working people, have bent our backs long enough! We have worked for the rich and remained paupers long enough! We have allowed them to rob us long enough! We want to unite in unions, to unite all the workers in one big workers' union (a workers' *party*) and to strive jointly for a better life. We want to achieve a new and better order of society: in this new and better society there must be neither rich nor poor; all will have to work. Not a handful of rich people, but all the working people must enjoy the fruits of their common labour. Machines and other improvements must serve to ease the work of all and not to enable a few to grow rich at the expense of millions and tens of millions of people. This new and better society is called *socialist society*. The teachings about this society are called *socialism*. The workers' unions which fight for this better order of society are called *Social-Democratic* parties. Such parties exist openly in nearly all countries (except Russia and Turkey), and our workers, together with socialists from among the educated people, have also formed such a party: the *Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party*.

The government persecutes that Party, but it exists in secret, despite all prohibitions; it publishes its newspapers and pamphlets and organises secret unions. The workers not only meet in secret but come out into the streets in crowds and unfurl their banners bearing the inscriptions: "Long live the eight-hour day! Long live freedom! Long live socialism!" The government savagely persecutes the workers for this. It even sends troops to shoot down the workers. Russian soldiers have killed Russian workers in Yaroslavl, St. Petersburg, Riga, Rostov-on-Don, and Zlatoust.

But the workers do not yield. They continue the fight. They say: neither persecution, prison, deportation, penal servitude, nor death can frighten us. Our cause is a just one. We are fighting for the freedom and the happiness of all who work. We are fighting to free tens and hundreds of millions of people from abuse of power, oppression and poverty. The workers are becoming more and more class-conscious. The number of Social-Democrats is growing fast in all countries. We shall win despite all persecution.

The rural poor must clearly understand who these Social-Democrats are, what they want, and what must be done in the countryside to help the Social-Democrats to win happiness for the people.

2. WHAT DO THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS WANT?

The Russian Social-Democrats are first and foremost striving to win *political liberty*. They need political liberty in order to unite all the Russian workers extensively and openly in the struggle for a new and better socialist order of society.

What is political liberty?

To understand this the peasant should first compare his present state of freedom with serfdom. Under the serf-owning system the peasant could not marry without the landlord's permission. Today the peasant is free to marry without anyone's permission. Under the serf-owning system the peasant had unfailingly to work for his landlord on days fixed by the latter's bailiff. Today the peasant is free to decide which employer to work for, on which days, and for what pay. Under the serf-owning system the peasant could not leave his village without the landlord's permission. Today the peasant is free to go wherever he pleases —if the *mir* allows him to go, if he is not in arrears with his taxes, if he can get a passport, and if the governor or the police chief does not forbid his changing residence. Thus, even today the peasant is not quite free to go where he pleases; he does not enjoy complete freedom of movement; the peasant is still a semi-serf. Later on we shall explain in detail why the Russian peasant is still a semi-serf and what he must do to escape from this condition.

Under the serf-owning system the peasant had no right to acquire property without the landlord's permission; he could not buy land. Today the peasant is free to acquire any kind of property (but even today he is not quite free to leave the *mir*; he is not quite free to dispose of his land as he pleases). Under the serf-owning system the peasant could be flogged by order of the landlord. Today the peasant cannot be flogged by order of the landlord, although he is still liable to corporal punishment.

This freedom is called *civil* liberty—freedom in family matters, in private matters, in matters concerning property. The peasant and the worker are free (although not quite) to arrange their family life and their private affairs, to dispose of their labour (choose their employer) and their property.

But neither the Russian workers nor the Russian people as a whole are yet free to arrange their *public* affairs. The people as a whole are the serfs of the government officials, just as the peasants were the serfs of the landlords. The Russian people have no right to choose their officials, no right to elect representatives to legislate for the whole country. The Russian people have not even the right to arrange meetings for the discussion of *state* affairs. We dare not even print newspapers or books, and dare not even speak to all and for all on matters concerning the whole state without permission from officials who have been put in authority over us without our consent, just as the landlord used to appoint his bailiff without the consent of the peasants!

Just as the peasants were the slaves of the landlords, so the Russian people are still the slaves of the officials. Just as the peasants lacked civil freedom under the serf-owning system, so the Russian people still lack *political* liberty. Political liberty means the freedom of the people to arrange their public, state affairs. Political liberty means the right of the people to elect their representatives (deputies) to a State Duma (parliament). All laws should be discussed and passed, all taxes should be fixed only by such a State Duma (parliament) elected by the people themselves. Political liberty means the right of the people themselves to choose all their officials, arrange all kinds of meetings for the discussion of all state affairs, and publish whatever papers and books they please, without having to ask for permission.

All the other European peoples won political liberty for themselves long ago. Only in Turkey and in Russia are the people still politically enslaved by the sultan's government and by the tsarist autocratic government. Tsarist autocracy means the unlimited power of the tsar. The people have no voice in determining the structure of the state or in running it. All laws are made and all officials are appointed

by the tsar alone, by his personal, unlimited, autocratic authority. But, of course, the tsar *cannot even know* all Russian laws and all Russian officials. The tsar cannot even know all that goes on in the country. The tsar simply endorses the will of a few score of the richest and most high-born officials. However much he may desire to, one man cannot govern a vast country like Russia. It is not the tsar who governs Russia—it is only a manner of speech to talk about autocratic, one-man rule! Russia is governed by a handful of the richest and most high-born officials. The tsar learns only what this handful are pleased to tell him. The tsar cannot in any way go against the will of this handful of high-ranking nobles: the tsar himself is a landlord and a member of the nobility; since his earliest childhood he has lived only among these high-born people; it was they who brought him up and educated him; he knows about the Russian people as a whole only that which is known to these noble gentry, these rich landlords, and the few very rich merchants who are received at the tsar's Court.

In every volost administration office you will find the same picture hanging on the wall; it depicts the tsar (Alexander III, the father of the present tsar) speaking to the volost headmen who have come to his coronation. "*Obey your Marshals of the Nobility!*" the tsar is ordering them. And the present tsar, Nicholas II, has repeated those words. Thus, the tsars themselves admit that they can govern the country only with the aid of the nobility and through the nobility. We must well remember those words of the tsar's about the peasants having to obey the nobility. We must clearly understand what a lie is being told the people by those who try to make out that tsarist government is the best form of government. In other countries—those people say—the government is elected; but it is the rich who are elected, and they govern unjustly and oppress the poor. In Russia the government is not elected; an autocratic tsar governs the whole country. The tsar stands above everyone, rich and poor. The tsar, they tell us, is just to everyone, to the poor and to the rich alike.

Such talk is sheer hypocrisy. Every Russian knows the kind of justice that is dispensed by our government. Everybody knows whether a plain worker or a farm labourer

in our country can become a member of the State Council. In all other European countries, however, factory workers and farm-hands have been elected to the State Duma (parliament); they have been able to speak freely to all the people about the miserable condition of the workers, and call upon the workers to unite and fight for a better life. And no one has dared to stop these speeches of the people's representatives; no policeman has dared to lay a finger on them.

In Russia there is no elective government, and she is governed not merely by the rich and the high-born, but by the worst of these. She is governed by the most skilful intriguers at the tsar's Court, by the most artful tricksters, by those who carry lies and slanders to the tsar, and flatter and toady to him. They govern in secret; the people do not and cannot know what new laws are being drafted, what wars are being hatched, what new taxes are being introduced, which officials are being rewarded and for what services, and which are being dismissed. In no country is there such a multitude of officials as in Russia. These officials tower above the voiceless people like a dark forest—a mere worker can never make his way through this forest, can never obtain justice. Not a single complaint against bribery, robbery or abuse of power on the part of the officials is ever brought to light; every complaint is smothered in official red tape. The voice of the individual never reaches the whole people, but is lost in this dark jungle, stifled in the police torture chamber. An army of officials, who were never elected by the people and who are not responsible to the people, has woven a thick web, and men and women are struggling in this web like flies.

Tsarist autocracy is an autocracy of officials. Tsarist autocracy means the feudal dependence of the people upon the officials and especially upon the police. Tsarist autocracy is police autocracy.

That is why the workers come out into the streets with banners bearing the inscriptions: "Down with the autocracy!", "Long live political liberty!" That is why the tens of millions of the rural poor must also support and take up this battle-cry of the urban workers. Like them, undaunted by persecution, fearless of the enemy's threats and

violence, and undeterred by the first reverses, the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants must come forward for a decisive struggle for the freedom of the whole of the Russian people and demand first of all the *convocation of the representatives of the people*. Let the people themselves all over Russia elect their representatives (deputies). Let those representatives form a supreme assembly, which will introduce elective government in Russia, free the people from feudal dependence upon the officials and the police, and secure for the people the right to meet freely, speak freely, and have a free press!

That is what the Social-Democrats want first and foremost. That is the meaning of their first demand: the *demand for political liberty*.

We know that political liberty, free elections to the State Duma (parliament), freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, will not at once deliver the working people from poverty and oppression. There is no means of immediately delivering the poor of town and country from the burden of working for the rich. The working people have no one to place their hopes in and no one to rely upon *but themselves*. Nobody will free the working man from poverty *if he does not free himself*. And to free themselves the workers of the whole country, the whole of Russia, must unite in one union, in one party. But millions of workers cannot unite if the autocratic police government bans all meetings, all workers' newspapers, and the election of workers' deputies. To unite they must have the right to form unions of every kind, must have freedom to unite; they must enjoy political liberty.

Political liberty will not at once deliver the working people from poverty, *but it will give the workers a weapon with which to fight poverty*. There is no other means and there can be no other means of fighting poverty except the *unity of the workers themselves*. But millions of people cannot unite unless there is *political liberty*.

In all European countries where the people have won political liberty, the workers began to unite long ago. Throughout the whole of Europe, workers who own no land and no workshops, and work for other people for wages all their lives are called *proletarians*. Over fifty years ago

the call was sounded for the working people to unite. "Workers of all countries, unite!"— during the past fifty years these words have circled the whole globe, are repeated at tens and hundreds of thousands of workers' meetings, and can be read in millions of Social-Democratic pamphlets and newspapers in every language.

Of course, to unite millions of workers in one union, in one party, is an extremely difficult task; it requires time, persistence, perseverance, and courage. The workers are ground down by poverty and want, benumbed by ceaseless toil for the capitalists and landlords; often they have not even the time to think of why they remain perpetual paupers, or how to be delivered from this. Everything is done to prevent the workers from uniting: either by means of direct and brutal violence, as in countries like Russia where there is no political liberty, or by refusing to employ workers who preach the doctrines of socialism, or, lastly, by means of deceit and bribery. But no violence or persecution can stop the proletarian workers from fighting for the great cause of the emancipation of all working people from poverty and oppression. The number of Social-Democratic workers is constantly growing. Take our neighbouring country, Germany; there they have elective government. Formerly, in Germany, too, there was an unlimited, autocratic, monarchist government. But long ago, over fifty years ago, the German people destroyed the autocracy and won political liberty by force. In Germany laws are not made by a handful of officials, as in Russia, but by an *assembly of people's representatives*, by a parliament, by the *Reichstag*, as the Germans call it. All adult males take part in electing deputies to this assembly. This makes it possible to count how many votes were cast for the Social-Democrats. In 1887 *one-tenth* of all votes were cast for the Social-Democrats. In 1898 (when the most recent elections to the Reichstag took place) the Social-Democratic vote increased nearly threefold. This time *more than one-fourth* of all the votes were cast for the Social-Democrats. *Over two million* adult males voted for *Social-Democratic candidates* to parliament. Among the farm labourers of Germany socialism is not yet widespread but it is now making very rapid progress among them. And when the masses

of farm-hands, day labourers and poor, pauperised peasants unite with their brothers in the towns, the German workers will win and establish an order under which the working people will suffer neither poverty nor oppression.

By what means do the Social-Democratic workers want to deliver the people from poverty?

To know this, one must clearly understand the cause of the poverty of the vast masses of the people under the present social order. Rich cities are growing, magnificent shops and houses are being built, railways are being constructed, all kinds of machines and improvements are being introduced in industry and agriculture, but millions of people remain in poverty, and continue to work all their lives to provide a bare subsistence for their families. That is not all: more and more people are becoming unemployed. Both in town and country there are more and more people who can find no work at all. In the villages they starve, while in the towns they swell the ranks of the "tramps" and "down-and-outs", find refuge like beasts in dug-outs on the outskirts of towns, or in dreadful slums and cellars, such as those in the Khitrov Market in Moscow.

Why is this? Wealth and luxury are increasing, and yet the millions and millions who by their labour create all this wealth remain in poverty and want! Peasants are dying of starvation, workers wander about without employment, and yet merchants export millions of poods of grain from Russia to foreign countries, factories are standing idle because the goods cannot be sold, for there is no market for them!

The cause of all this is, first of all, that most of the land, and also the factories, workshops, machines, buildings, ships, etc., belong to a small number of rich people. Tens of millions of people work on this land and at these factories and workshops, but they are all owned by a few thousand or tens of thousands of rich people, landlords, merchants, and factory owners. The people work for those rich men for hire, for wages, for a crust of bread. All that is produced over and above what is required to provide a bare subsistence for the workers goes to the rich; this is their profit, their "income". All the benefits arising from the use of machines and from improvements in methods

of production go to the landowners and capitalists: they accumulate wealth untold, while the workers get only a miserable pittance. The workers are brought together for work; on large estates and at big factories several hundred and sometimes even several thousand workers are employed. When labour is united in this way, and when the most diverse kinds of machines are employed, work becomes more productive: one worker produces much more than scores of workers did working separately and without the aid of machines. But the benefits of this more productive labour go not to all the working people, but to an insignificant number of big landowners, merchants, and factory owners.

One often hears it said that the landlords and merchants "*provide* work" for the people, that they "provide" the poor with earnings. It is said, for instance, that a neighbouring factory or a neighbouring landlord "*maintains*" the local peasants. Actually, however, the workers by their labour *maintain* themselves and also all those who do not work themselves. *But for permission* to work on the landlord's land, at a factory, or on a railway, the worker *gives* the owner *gratis* all he produces, while the worker himself gets only enough for a bare subsistence. Actually, therefore, it is not the landlords and the merchants who give the workers employment, but the workers who by their labour maintain everybody, surrendering *gratis* the greater part of their labour.

Further. In all present-day states the people's poverty is due to the fact that the workers produce all sorts of articles for sale, for the market. The factory owner and the artisan, the landlord and the well-to-do peasant produce various goods, raise cattle, sow and harvest grain *for sale*, in order to obtain *money*. Money has everywhere become the ruling power. All the goods produced by human labour are exchanged for money. With money you can buy anything. With money you can even buy a man, that is to say, force a man who owns nothing to work for another who has money. Formerly, land used to be the ruling power—that was the case under the serf-owning system: whoever possessed land possessed power and authority. Today, however, money, capital, has become the ruling power. With money you can buy as much land as you like. Without money you will

not be able to do much even if you have land: you must have money to buy a plough or other implements, to buy livestock, to buy clothes and other town-made goods, not to speak of paying taxes. For the sake of money nearly all the landlords have mortgaged their estates to the banks. To get money the government borrows from rich people and bankers all over the world, and pays hundreds of millions of rubles yearly in interest on these loans.

For the sake of money everyone today is waging a fierce war against everyone else. Each tries to buy cheap and to sell dear, each tries to get ahead of the other, to sell as many goods as possible, to undercut the other, to conceal from him a profitable market or a profitable contract. In this general scramble for money the little man, the petty artisan or the small peasant, fares worse than all: he is always left behind by the rich merchant or the rich peasant. The little man never has any reserves; he lives from hand to mouth; each difficulty or accident compels him to pawn his last belongings or to sell his livestock at a trifling price. Once he has fallen into the clutches of a kulak or of a usurer he very rarely succeeds in escaping from the net, and in most cases he is utterly ruined. Every year tens and hundreds of thousands of small peasants and artisans lock up their cottages, surrender their holdings to the commune *gratis* and become wage-workers, farm-hands, unskilled workers, proletarians. But the rich grow richer and richer in this struggle for money. They pile up millions and hundreds of millions of rubles in the banks and make profit not only with their own money, but also with the money deposited in the banks by others. The little man who deposits a few score or a few hundred rubles in a bank or a savings-bank receives interest at the rate of three or four kopeks to the ruble; but the rich make millions out of these scores and use these millions to increase their turnover and make ten and twenty kopeks to the ruble.

That is why the Social-Democratic workers say that the only way to put an end to the poverty of the people is to change the existing order from top to bottom, throughout the country, and to establish a socialist order, in other words, to take the estates from the big landowners, the

factories from the factory owners, and money capital from the bankers, to abolish their *private property* and turn it over to the whole working people throughout the country. When that is done the workers' labour will be made use of not by rich people living on the labour of others, but by the workers themselves and by those elected by them. The fruits of common labour and the advantages from all improvements and machinery will then benefit all the working people, all the workers. Wealth will then grow at a still faster rate because the workers will work better for themselves than they did for the capitalists; the working day will be shorter; the workers' standard of living will be higher; all their conditions of life will be completely changed.

But it is not an easy matter to change the existing order throughout the country. That requires a great deal of effort, a long and stubborn struggle. All the rich, all the property-owners, all the *bourgeoisie** will defend their riches with all their might. The officials and the army will rise to defend all the *rich class*, because the government itself is in the hands of the rich class. The workers must rally as one man for the struggle against all those who live on the labour of others; the workers themselves must unite and help to unite all the poor in a single *working class*, in a single *proletarian class*. The struggle will not be easy for the working class, but it will certainly end in the workers' victory because the bourgeoisie, or those who live on the labour of others, are an insignificant minority of the population, while the working class is the vast majority. The workers against the property-owners means millions against thousands.

The workers in Russia are already beginning to unite for this great struggle in a single workers' Social-Democratic Party. Difficult as it is to unite in secret, hiding from the police, nevertheless, the organisation is growing and gaining strength. When the Russian people have won

* Bourgeois means a property-owner. The bourgeoisie are all the property-owners taken together. A big bourgeois is the owner of big property. A petty bourgeois is the owner of small property. The words bourgeoisie and proletariat mean the same as property-owners and workers, the rich and the poor, or those who live on the labour of others and those who work for others for wages.

political liberty, the work of uniting the working class, the cause of socialism, will advance much more rapidly, more rapidly than it is advancing among the German workers.

3. RICHES AND POVERTY, PROPERTY-OWNERS AND WORKERS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

We know now what the Social-Democrats want. They wan to fight the whole of the rich class to free the people from poverty. In our countryside there is no less and, perhaps, even more poverty than there is in the towns. We shall not speak here about how great the poverty in the countryside is. Every worker who has been in the country and every peasant are well acquainted with want, hunger, and ruin in the countryside.

But the peasant does not know the *cause* of his distress, hunger and destitution, or *how* to rid himself of this want. To know this one must first find out what causes all want and poverty in both town and countryside. We have already dealt with this briefly, and we have seen that the poor peasants and rural workers must unite with the urban workers. But that is not enough. We must also find out what sort of people in the countryside will follow the rich, the property-owners, and what sort of people will follow the workers, the Social-Democrats. We must find out whether there are many peasants who, no less than the landlords, are able to acquire capital and live on the labour of others. Unless we get to the bottom of this matter, no amount of talking about poverty will be of any use, and the rural poor will not know *who* in the countryside must unite among themselves and with the urban workers, or *what* must be done to make it a *dependable* union and to prevent the peasant from being hoodwinked by his own kind, the rich peasant, as well as by the landlord.

To get to the bottom of this let us now see how strong the landlords are and how strong the rich peasants are in the countryside.

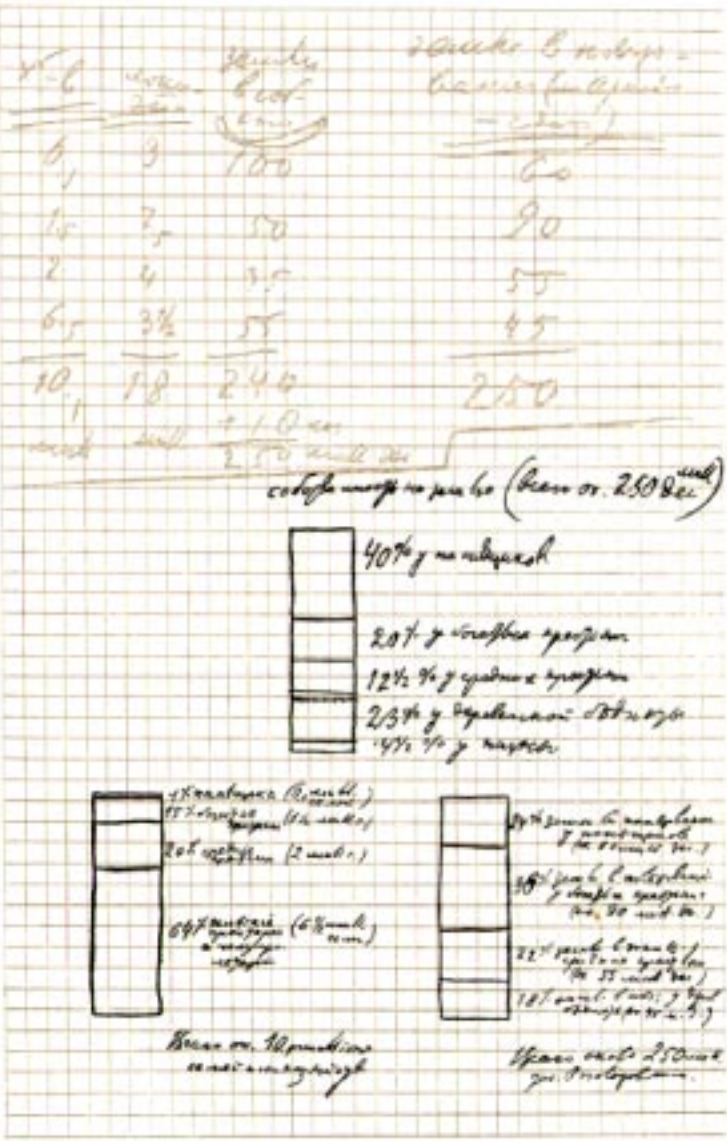
Let us begin with the landlords. We can judge of their strength in the first place by the amount of land they own as private property. The total amount of land in European Russia, including peasant allotment land and privately

owned land, has been calculated at about 240,000,000 dessiatines* (except the state lands, of which we shall speak separately). Out of this total of 240,000,000 dessiatines, 131,000,000 dessiatines of allotment land are held by the peasants, that is to say, by *over ten million households*; whereas 109,000,000 dessiatines are held by private owners, i.e., by *less than half a million families*. Thus, even if we take the average, every peasant family holds 13 dessiatines, while every family of private owners owns 218 dessiatines! But the distribution of the land is much more unequal, as we shall presently see.

Of the 109,000,000 dessiatines owned by private owners *seven* million are *royal demesnes*, in other words, the private property of the members of the imperial family. The tsar, with his family, is the first landlord, the biggest landowner in Russia. *One* family possesses *more* land than *half a million* peasant families! Further, the churches and monasteries own about *six* million dessiatines of land. Our priests preach frugality and abstinence to the peasants, but they themselves have, by fair means and foul, accumulated an enormous amount of land.

Further, about two million dessiatines are owned by the cities and towns, and an equal amount by various commercial and industrial companies and corporations. Ninety-two million dessiatines (the exact figure is 91,605,845, but to simplify matters we will quote round figures) belong to *less than half a million* (481,358) families of private owners. Half these families are quite small owners, owning less than ten dessiatines of land each, and all of them together own less than one million dessiatines. On the other hand, *sixteen thousand* families own *over one thousand* dessiatines each; and the total land owned by them amounts to *sixty-five million dessiatines*. What vast areas of land are concentrated in the hands of the big landowners is also to be seen in the fact that *just under one*

* These and all subsequent figures concerning the amount of land are very much out of date. They refer to the years 1877-78. But we have no more up-to-date figures. The Russian Government can only survive by keeping things in the dark, and that is why complete and truthful information about the life of the people throughout our country is so rarely collected. (A dessiatine = 2.7 acres.—*Ed.*)



Calculations of land distribution according to class groups compiled by Lenin in the prepartion of the pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor*. 1903

Reduced

thousand families (924) own *more than ten thousand dessiatines* each, and all together they own *twenty-seven million dessiatines*! One thousand families own as much land as is owned by two million peasant families.

Obviously, millions and tens of millions of people are *bound* to live in poverty and starvation and *will go on* living in poverty and starvation as long as such vast areas of land are owned by a few thousand of the rich. Obviously, the state authorities, the government itself (even the tsar's government) will always dance to the tune of these big landowners. Obviously, the rural poor can expect no help from anyone, or from any quarter, until they unite, combine in a single class to wage a stubborn, desperate struggle against the landlord class.

At this point we must observe that very many people in this country (including even many people of education) have a totally wrong idea about the strength of the landlord class; they say that the "state" owns much more land. These bad counsellors of the peasant say: "A large portion of the territory [i.e., of all the land] of Russia already belongs to the state." (These words are taken from the newspaper *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*, No. 8, p. 8.) The mistake these people make arises from the following. They have heard that the state owns 150,000,000 dessiatines of land in European Russia. That is true. But they forget that these 150,000,000 dessiatines consist almost entirely of *uncultivable land and forests in the Far North*, in the Archangel, Vologda, Olonets, Vyatka, and Perm gubernias. Thus, the state has retained only that land which up to the present has been quite unfit for cultivation. The cultivable land owned by the state amounts to *less than four million dessiatines*. And these cultivable state lands (for example, in Samara Gubernia, where they are particularly extensive), are leased for very low rents, for next to nothing, to the rich. The rich lease thousands and tens of thousands of dessiatines of these lands and then sublet them to the peasants at exorbitant rents.

The people who say that the state owns a great deal of land are very bad counsellors of the peasant. The actual case is that the big private landowners (including the tsar personally) own a lot of good land, and the state itself is

in the hands of these big landowners. As long as the rural poor fail to unite, and by uniting become a formidable force, the "state" will always remain the obedient servant of the landlord class. There is another thing that must not be forgotten: formerly almost all the landlords were nobles. The nobility still owns a vast amount of land (in 1877-78, 115,000 nobles owned 73,000,000 dessiatines). But today money, capital, has become the ruling power. Merchants and well-to-do peasants have bought very large amounts of land. It is estimated that in the course of thirty years (from 1863 to 1892) the nobility lost (i.e., sold more than they bought) land to the value of over six hundred million rubles. And merchants and honorary citizens have acquired land to the value of 250,000,000 rubles. Peasants, Cossacks, and "other rural inhabitants" (as our government calls the common folk, to distinguish them from the "gentry", the "clean public") have acquired land to the value of 300,000,000 rubles. Thus, on the average, every year, the peasants in the whole of Russia acquire land as private property to the value of 10,000,000 rubles.

And so, there are different sorts of peasants: some live in poverty and starvation; others grow rich. Consequently, the number of rich peasants who incline towards the landlords and will take the side of the rich against the workers is increasing. The rural poor who want to unite with the urban workers must carefully ponder over this and find out whether there are many rich peasants of this kind, how strong they are, and what kind of a union we need to fight this force. We have just mentioned the bad counsellors of the peasant. Those bad counsellors are fond of saying that the peasants already have such a union. That union is the *mir*, the village commune. The *mir*, they say, is a great force. The *mir* unites the peasants very closely; the organisation (i.e., the association, unity) of the peasants in the *mir* is colossal (i.e., enormous, boundless).

That is wrong. It is a tale. A tale invented by kind-hearted people, but a tale nevertheless. If we listen to tales we shall only wreck our cause, the cause of uniting the rural poor with the urban workers. Let every rural inhabitant look round carefully: is the unity of the *mir*, is the peasant commune, at all like a union of the poor to fight *all*

the rich, *all* those who live on the labour of others? No, it is not, and it cannot be. In every village, in every commune, there are many farm labourers, many impoverished peasants, and there are rich peasants who employ farm labourers and buy land "in perpetuity". These rich peasants are also members of the commune, and it is they who lord it in the commune because they are a force. But do we need a union to which the rich belong, and which is lorded over by the rich? Of course not. We need a union *to fight* the rich. And so, the unity of the *mir* is no good to us at all.

What we need is a voluntary union, a union only of people who have realised that they must unite with the urban workers. The village commune, however, is not a voluntary union; it is enforced by the state. The village commune does not consist of people who work for the rich and who want to unite to fight the rich. The village commune consists of all sorts of people, not because they want to be in it, but because their parents lived on the same land and worked for the same landlord, because the authorities have registered them as members of that commune. The poor peasant are not free to leave the commune; they are not free to accept in the commune a man whom the police have registered in another volost, but whom we may need for our union in a particular village. No, we need a very different kind of union, a voluntary union consisting only of labourers and poor peasants to fight all those who live on the labour of others.

The times when the *mir* was a force have long passed, never to return. The *mir* was a force when hardly any of the peasants were farm labourers, or workers wandering over the length and breadth of Russia in search of a job, when there were hardly any rich peasants, when all were equally ground down by the feudal landlords. But now money has become the principal power. Members of the same commune will now fight one another for money like wild beasts. The moneyed peasants sometimes oppress and fleece their fellow peasants more than the landlords do. What we need today is not the unity of the *mir*, but a union against the *power of money*, against the rule of capital, a union of all the rural labourers and of all the poor peasants of different communes, a union of all the rural poor with the urban workers to fight both the landlords and the rich peasants.

We have seen how strong the landlords are. We must now see whether there are many rich peasants and how strong they are.

We estimate the strength of the landlords by the size of their estates, by the amount of land they own. The landlords are free to dispose of their land, free to buy land and to sell it. That is why it is possible to judge their strength very accurately by the amount of land they own. The peasants, however, still lack the right freely to dispose of their land; they are still semi-serfs, tied to their village commune. Hence, the strength of the rich peasants cannot be judged by the amount of allotment land they hold. The rich peasants do not grow rich on their allotments; they *buy* a considerable amount of land, buying both "in perpetuity" (i.e., as their private property) and "for a number of years" (i.e., on lease); they buy both from the landlords and from their fellow peasants, from those peasants who leave the land, or are compelled by want to let their holdings. It will therefore be more correct to divide the rich, middle, and poor peasants according to the number of horses they own. A peasant who owns many horses will nearly always be a rich peasant; if he keeps many draught animals it shows that he cultivates a lot of land, owns land besides his communal allotment, and has money saved up. Moreover, we are in a position to calculate the number of peasants owning many horses in the whole of Russia (European Russia, exclusive of Siberia and the Caucasus). Of course, it must not be forgotten that we can speak of the whole of Russia only in averages: the different uyezds and gubernias vary to a considerable degree. For instance, in the neighbourhood of cities we often find rich peasant farmers who keep very few horses. Some of them engage in market-gardening—a profitable business; others keep few horses but many cows and sell milk. In all parts of Russia there are also peasants who do not make money out of the land, but engage in trade: they run creameries, hulling-mills, and other enterprises. Everybody who lives in the country very well knows of rich peasants in his own village or district. But we want to know how many there are in the whole of Russia and how strong they are, so that the poor peasant shall not have to guess and go about blindfold, as it were, but know exactly his friends and his foes.

Well then, let us see whether there are many peasants who are rich or poor in horses. We have already said that the total number of peasant households in Russia is estimated at about *ten million*. Between them they now own, probably, about *fifteen million* horses (about fourteen years ago the number was seventeen million, but it is smaller now). Thus, on the average, every *ten* households have *fifteen* horses. But the whole point is that some of them—a few—own many horses, while others—very many—own no horses, or very few. There are *at least three million* peasants, who own no horses, and about three and a half million *own one horse each*. All these are either utterly ruined or very poor peasants. We call these the rural poor. They number *six and a half* million out of a total of ten million, that is to say, *almost two-thirds*! Next come the middle peasants who own a pair of draught animals each. These peasants number *about two* million households, owning *about four* million horses. Then come the rich peasants each of whom owns more than one pair of draught animals. Such comprise *one and a half million* households, but they own *seven and a half* million horses.* Thus, about one-sixth of the total households own half the total number of horses.

Now that we know this we are in a position to judge fairly accurately the strength of the rich peasants. In number they are very few: in the different communes and volosts they will comprise ten to twenty households in every hundred. But these few households are the richest. Taking

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* We repeat that the figures quoted are average, approximate figures. The number of rich peasants may not be exactly a million and a half, but a million and a quarter, or a million and three-quarters, or even two million. That is not a big difference. The important thing here is not to count them up to the last thousand or last hundred thousand, but clearly to realise the strength and the position of the rich peasants so that we may be able to recognise our enemies and our friends, that we shall not allow ourselves to be deceived by tales or empty talk, but get to know accurately the position of the poor and especially the position of the rich.

Let every rural worker carefully study his own volost and the neighbouring volosts. He will see that we have counted correctly, and that on the average, this will be the position everywhere: out of every hundred households there will be ten at the most twenty, rich families some twenty middle peasants, and all the rest are poor.

Russia as a whole, they own almost as many horses as all the other peasants taken together. That means that their land under crops must also amount to nearly half the total area sown to crops by the peasants. Such peasants harvest much more grain than they require for their families. They sell large quantities of grain. They grow grain not merely to feed themselves, but grow it chiefly for sale, to make money. Peasants like these can save money. They deposit it in savings-banks and banks. They buy land as property. We have already said how much land the peasants all over Russia buy every year; nearly all this land goes to these few rich peasants. The rural poor have to think not of buying land, but of getting enough to eat. Often they have not enough money to buy grain, let alone land. Therefore, the banks in general and the Peasants' Bank in particular do not help all peasants to buy land (as is sometimes asserted by people who try to deceive the muzhik or by the very simple-minded), but only an insignificant number of peasants, only the rich peasants. Therefore, the peasant's evil counsellors whom we have mentioned tell an untruth when they say that the land is being bought by the peasants, that it is passing from capital to labour. The land can never pass to labour, that is, to the poor working man, because land has to be paid for with money. But the poor never have any money to spare. The land can go only to the rich, moneyed peasants, to capital, to those people against whom the rural poor must *fight* in alliance with the urban workers.

The rich peasants not only buy land in perpetuity; most often they take land for a number of years, on lease. By renting large plots they prevent the rural poor from getting land. For example, it has been calculated how much land rich peasants have rented in a single uyezd (Konstantinograd) in Poltava Gubernia. And what do we find? The number who rented thirty dessiatines or more per household is very small, only two out of every fifteen households. But these rich peasants have gained possession of *one half* of all the rented land, and each of them has on the average *seventy-five dessiatines* of the rented land! Or take Taurida Gubernia, where a calculation has been made of how much of the land rented by the peasants from the state through the mir, through the village commune, has been grabbed

by the rich. It has been found that the rich, who account for only *one-fifth* of the total number of households, have grabbed *three-fourths* of the rented land. Everywhere land goes to those who have money, and only the few rich have money.

Further, much land is now let by the peasants themselves. The peasants abandon their holdings because they have no livestock, no seed, nothing with which to run their farms. Today even land is of no use unless you have money. For instance, in Novouzensk Uyezd in Samara Gubernia, one, sometimes even two, out of every three rich peasant households *rent allotment land* in their own or in another commune. The allotments are let by those who have no horses, or only one horse. In Taurida Gubernia as much as *one-third* of all peasant households let their allotments. *One-fourth* of the peasant allotments, a quarter of a million dessiatines, are let. Of this quarter of a million dessiatines, one hundred and fifty thousand dessiatines (three-fifths) are rented by rich peasants! This, too, shows whether the unity of the *mir*, the commune, is of any use to the poor. In the village commune, he who has money has power. What we need is the unity of the poor of all communes.

Just as with land purchase, the peasants are deceived by talk about buying cheap ploughs, harvesters, and all sorts of improved implements. Zemstvo stores and artels are set up and it is said: improved implements will better the conditions of the peasantry. That is mere deception. All these improved implements always go to the rich; the poor get next to nothing. They cannot think of buying ploughs and harvesters; they have enough to do to keep body and soul together! All this sort of "helping the peasants" is nothing but helping the rich. As for the mass of the poor, who have neither land, livestock, nor reserves, they will not benefit by the fact that the better implements will be cheaper. Here is an example. In an uyezd in Samara Gubernia all the improved implements belonging to the poor and to the rich peasants have been taken stock of. It was found that *one-fifth* of all households, i.e., the most well-to-do, owned almost *three-fourths* of the improved implements, while the poor—*half* the households—had only *one-thirtieth*. Out of a total of 28,000 households, 10,000 possessed one horse

each, or none; these 10,000 had only *seven* improved implements out of a total of 5,724 improved implements owned by all the peasant households in the uyezd. Seven out of 5,724—that is the share of the rural poor in all these farm improvements, in all this increase in the number of ploughs and harvesters which are supposed to help "all the peasantry"! That is what the rural poor must expect from those who talk about "improving peasant farming"!

Finally, one of the main features of the rich peasants is that they *hire farm-hands and day labourers*. Like the landlords, the rich peasants also live on the labour of others. Like the landlords, they grow rich because the mass of the peasants are ruined and pauperised. Like the landlords, they try to squeeze as much work as they can out of their farm-hands and to pay them as little as possible. If millions of peasants were not utterly ruined and compelled to go to work for others, become hired labourers, sell their labour-power—the rich peasants could not exist, could not carry on their farms. There would be no "abandoned" allotments for them to pick up and no labourers for them to hire. The million and a half rich peasants throughout Russia certainly hire no less than a *million* farm-hands and day labourers. Obviously, in the great struggle between the propertied class and the class of the propertyless, between masters and workers, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the rich peasants will take the side of the property-owners against the working class.

We now know the position and the strength of the rich peasantry. Let us examine the conditions of the rural poor.

We have already said that the rural poor comprise the vast majority, almost two-thirds, of the peasant households throughout Russia. To begin with, the number of households without horses cannot be less than *three million*—probably more than that today, perhaps three and a half million. Every famine year, every crop failure, ruins tens of thousands of farms. The population grows, life on the land becomes more crowded, but all the best land has been grabbed by the landlords and the rich peasants. And so, every year more and more people are ruined, go to the towns and the factories, take work as farm-hands, or become unskilled labourers. A peasant who has no horse is one who has become

quite poor. He is a proletarian. He gains a living (if you can call it living; it would be truer to say that he just contrives to keep body and soul together) not from the land, not from his farm, but *by working for hire*. He is brother to the town worker. Even land is of no use to the peasant without a horse: half the households without horses *let their allotments*, while some even surrender them to the commune for nothing (and sometimes even pay the difference between the taxes and the expected income from the land!) because they are not in a position to till their land. A peasant who has no horse sows one dessiatine, or two at the most. He always has to buy additional grain (if he has the money to buy it with)—his own crop will never suffice to feed him. Peasants who own one horse each, and there are about three and a half million such households throughout Russia, are not very much better off. Of course, there are exceptions, and we have already said that, here and there, there are peasants with one horse each who are doing middling well, or are even rich. But we are not speaking of exceptions, of individual localities, but of Russia as a whole. If we take the entire mass of peasants who have one horse each, there can be no doubt that they are a mass of paupers. Even in the agricultural gubernias the peasant who has one horse sows only three or four dessiatines, rarely five; his crop does not suffice either. Even in a good year his food is no better than that of a peasant without a horse—which means that he is always underfed, always starves. His farm is in decay, his livestock is poor and short of fodder, and he is not in a position to look after his land properly. The peasant who owns one horse—in Voronezh Gubernia, for instance—can afford to spend (not counting expenditure on fodder) not more than *twenty rubles a year* on the whole of his farm! (A rich peasant spends *ten times as much*.) Twenty rubles a year for rent, to buy livestock, repair his wooden plough and other implements, pay the shepherd, and for everything else! Do you call that farming? It is sheer misery, hard labour, endless drudgery. It is natural that some of the peasants with one horse each, and not a few, should also *let their allotments*. Even land is of little use to a pauper. He has no money and his land does not even provide him with enough to eat, let alone with money. But money is needed for everything: for food,

for clothing, for the farm, and to pay taxes. In Voronezh Gubernia, a peasant who owns one horse usually has to pay *about eighteen rubles* a year in taxes alone, while he cannot make more than seventy-five rubles a year to meet *all* his expenses. Under these circumstances it is sheer mockery to talk about buying land, about improved implements, about agricultural banks: those things were not invented for the poor.

Where is the peasant to get the money from? He has to look for "earnings" on the side. A peasant who owns one horse, like the peasant who owns none, ekes out a living only with the help of "earnings". But what does "earnings" mean? It means working for others, working for hire. It means that the peasant who owns one horse has half ceased to be an independent farmer and has become a hireling, a proletarian. That is why such peasants are called *semi-proletarians*. They, too, are brothers to the town workers because they, too, are fleeced in every way by all sorts of employers. They, too, have no way out, no salvation, except by uniting with the Social-Democrats to fight all the rich, all the property-owners. Who works on the building of railways? Who is fleeced by the contractors? Who goes out lumbering and timber-floating? Who works as farm-hand? Or as day labourer? Who does the unskilled work in the towns and ports? It is always the rural poor, the peasants who have no horses or only one each. It is always the rural proletarians and semi-proletarians. And what vast numbers of these there are in Russia! It has been calculated that throughout Russia (exclusive of the Caucasus and Siberia) eight and sometimes even nine *million* passports are taken out yearly. Those are all for migratory workers. They are peasants only in name; actually, they are hirelings, wage-labourers. They must all unite in one union with the town workers—and every ray of light and knowledge that reaches the countryside will strengthen and consolidate this unity.

There is one more point about "earnings" that must not be forgotten. All kinds of officials and people who think as the officials do are fond of saying that the peasant, the muzhik, "needs" two things: land (but not very much of it—besides, he cannot get much, because the rich have grabbed

it all!) and "earnings". Therefore, they say, in order to help the people, it is necessary to introduce more trades in the rural districts, to "provide" more "earnings". Such talk is sheer hypocrisy. For the poor, "earnings" mean wage-labour. To "provide earnings" for the peasant means transforming him into a wage-labourer. Fine sort of assistance this! For the rich peasants there are other kinds of "earnings", which require capital, for instance, the building of a flour-mill or some other plant, the purchase of threshing-machines, trade, and so on. To confuse the earnings of moneyed people with the *wage-labour* of the poor means deceiving the poor. Of course, this deception is to the advantage of the rich; it is to their advantage to make it appear that all kinds of "earnings" are open to and within the reach of *all* the peasants. But he who really cares for the welfare of the poor will tell *the whole truth and nothing but the truth*.

It remains for us to consider the middle peasants. We have already seen that, on the average, taking Russia as a whole, we must regard as a middle peasant one who has a pair of draught animals, and that out of a total of ten million households there are about two million middle peasant households in the country. The middle peasant stands between the rich peasant and the proletarian, and that is why he is called a middle peasant. His standard of living, too, is middling: in a good year he makes ends meet on his farm, but poverty is always knocking at the door. He has either very few savings or none at all. That is why his farm is in a precarious position. He finds it hard to get money: only very seldom can he make as much money out of his farm as he needs, and if he does, it is just barely enough. To go out for earnings would mean neglecting the farm and everything would go to rack and ruin. Nevertheless, many of the middle peasants cannot get along without earnings: they, too, have to hire themselves to others; want compels them to go into bondage to the landlord, to fall into debt. And once in debt the middle peasant is hardly ever able to get out of it, for unlike the rich peasant he has no steady income. Therefore, once he falls into debt it is as if he had put his neck in a halter. He remains a debtor until he is utterly ruined. It is chiefly the middle peasant

who falls into bondage to the landlord, because for work paid on a job basis the landlord needs a peasant who is not ruined, one who owns a pair of horses and all implements required in farming. It is not easy for the middle peasant to go elsewhere in search of earnings, so he goes into bondage to the landlord in return for grain, permission to use pasture land, the lease of the cut-off lands, and money advances during the winter. The middle peasant is hard pressed, not only by the landlord and the kulak, but also by his rich neighbour, who is always one jump ahead when he wants to acquire more land and never misses an opportunity to squeeze him in some way or other. Such is the life of the middle peasant; he is neither fish nor fowl. He can be neither a real master nor a worker. All the middle peasants strive to become masters: they want to be property-owners, but very few succeed. There are a few, a very few, who even hire farm-hands or day labourers, try to become rich on the labour of others, to rise to wealth on the backs of others. But most middle peasants have no money to hire labourers—in fact, they have to hire themselves out.

Wherever a struggle begins between the rich and the poor, between the property-owners and the workers, the middle peasant remains in between, not knowing which side to take. The rich call him to their side: you, too, are a master, a man of property, they say to him, you have nothing to do with the penniless workers. But the workers say: the rich will cheat and fleece you, and there is no other salvation for you but to help us in our fight against all the rich. This struggle for the middle peasant is going on everywhere, in all countries, wherever the Social-Democratic workers are fighting to emancipate the working people. In Russia the struggle is just beginning. That is why we must most carefully study the matter and understand clearly the deceits the rich resort to in order to win over the middle peasant; we must learn how to expose these deceits and help the middle peasant to find his real friends. If the Russian Social-Democratic workers at once take the right road, we shall establish a firm alliance between the rural workers and the urban workers more quickly than our comrades, the German workers, and we shall speedily achieve victory over all the enemies of the working people.

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

4. WHAT PATH SHOULD THE MIDDLE PEASANT TAKE? SHOULD HE TAKE THE SIDE OF THE PROPERTY-OWNERS AND THE RICH OR THE SIDE OF THE WORKERS AND THE POOR?

All property-owners, the entire bourgeoisie, try to win over the middle peasant by promising him all sorts of ways to improve his farm (cheap ploughs, agricultural banks, the introduction of grass sowing, cheap livestock and fertilisers, and so on) and also by inducing the peasant to join all sorts of agricultural societies (co-operatives, as they are called in books) which unite all kinds of farmers with the object of improving farming methods. In this way the bourgeoisie try to keep the middle and even the small peasant, even the semi-proletarian, from uniting with the workers, and try to induce them to side with the rich, with the bourgeoisie, in their fight against the workers, the proletariat.

To this the Social-Democratic workers reply: improved farming is an excellent thing. There is no harm in buying cheaper ploughs; nowadays even a merchant, if he is not a fool, tries to sell more cheaply to attract customers. But when a poor or a middle peasant is told that improved farming and cheaper ploughs will help all of them to escape from poverty and to get on their feet, without touching the rich, *this is deception*. All these improvements, lower prices, and co-operatives (societies for the sale and purchase of goods) *benefit the rich far more than anybody else*. The rich grow stronger and oppress the poor and middle peasants more and more. As long as the rich remain rich, as long as they own most of the land, livestock, implements, and money—as long as all this lasts, not only the poor but even the middle peasants will *never* be able to escape from want. One or two middle peasants may be able to climb into the ranks of the rich with the aid of all these improvements and co-operatives, but the people as a whole, and all the middle peasants, will sink deeper and deeper into poverty. For *all* middle peasants to become rich, the rich themselves must be turned out, and they can be turned out only if the urban workers and the rural poor are united.

The bourgeoisie say to the middle (and even to the small) peasant: we will sell you land at a low price, and ploughs

at a low price, but in return you must sell yourselves to us and give up fighting all the rich.

The Social-Democratic worker says: if you are really offered goods at a low price, why not buy them, if you have the money; that is sound business. But you should never sell yourselves. To give up the fight in alliance with the urban workers against the entire bourgeoisie would mean remaining in poverty and want for ever. If goods become cheaper, the rich will gain still more and become richer. But those who never have money to spare will gain nothing from cheaper goods until they take that money from the bourgeoisie.

Let us take an example. Those who support the bourgeoisie make much ado about all sorts of co-operatives (societies for buying cheap and selling profitably). There are even people who call themselves "Socialist-Revolutionaries", who, echoing the bourgeoisie, also talk loudly about the peasant needing nothing so much as co-operatives. All sorts of co-operatives are beginning to spring up in Russia, too, although there are still very few of them here, and there will not be many until we enjoy political liberty. Take Germany: there the peasants have many co-operatives of all kinds. But see who gains most from these co-operatives. In all Germany, 140,000 farmers belong to societies for the sale of milk and dairy products, and these 140,000 farmers (we again take round figures for the sake of simplicity) own 1,100,000 cows. It is calculated that there are *four million* poor peasants in Germany. Of these, only 40,000 belong to co-operatives: thus, *only one* out of every hundred poor peasants enjoys the benefits of these co-operatives. These 40,000 poor peasants own only 100,000 cows in all. Further, the middle farmers, the middle peasants, number *one million*; of these, 50,000 belong to co-operatives (that is to say, five out of every hundred) and they own a total of 200,000 cows. Finally, the rich farmers (i.e., both landlords and rich peasants) number *one-third of a million*; of these, 50,000 belong to co-operatives (that is to say, *seventeen* out of every hundred!) and they own 800,000 cows!

That is whom the co-operatives help first and foremost. That is how the peasant is deceived by those people who talk loudly about saving the middle peasant by means of

such societies for buying cheap and selling profitably. It is, indeed, at a very low price that the bourgeoisie want to "buy off" the peasant from the Social-Democrats, who call upon both the poor and the middle peasant to join them.

In our country, too, co-operative cheese dairies and amalgamated dairies are beginning to be formed. In our country, too, there are plenty of people who shout: artels, the *mir*, and co-operatives—that is what the peasant needs. But see who gains by these artels, co-operatives, and renting by the *mir*. Out of every hundred households in our country, at least twenty own no cows at all; thirty own only one cow each: these sell milk from dire need, their own children have to go without milk, starve, and die off like flies. The rich peasants, however, own three, four and more cows each, and these rich peasants own half the total number of cows owned by peasants. Who, then, gains from co-operative cheese dairies. Obviously, the landlords and the peasant bourgeoisie gain first of all. Obviously, it is *to their advantage* that the middle peasants and the poor should follow in their wake and that they should believe that the means of escaping from want is not the struggle of all the workers against the entire bourgeoisie, but the striving of individual small farmers to climb out of their present position and get into the ranks of the rich.

This striving is fostered and encouraged in every way by all the champions of the bourgeoisie, who pretend to be the champions and friends of the small peasant. And many simple-minded people fail to see the wolf in sheep's clothing, and repeat this bourgeois deception in the belief that they are helping the poor and middle peasants. For instance, they argue in books and in speeches that small-scale farming is the most profitable, most remunerative form of farming, that small-scale farming is flourishing, and that is why, they say, there are so many small producers in agriculture everywhere, and why they cling to their land (and not because all the best lands are owned by the bourgeoisie, and all the money, too, while the poor have to live in drudgery all their lives crowded on tiny patches of land!). The small peasant does not need much money, these smooth-tongued people say; the small and the middle peasants are more thrifty and more industrious than the big farmers, and

know how to live a simpler life; instead of buying hay for their cattle, they are content to feed them on straw. Instead of buying an expensive machine, they get up earlier and toil longer and do as much as a machine does; instead of paying money to strangers for doing repairs, the peasant himself takes his hatchet on a Sunday and does a bit of carpentry—and that is much cheaper than the way a big farmer goes about it; instead of feeding an expensive horse or an ox, he uses his cow for ploughing. In Germany all the poor peasants use cows to haul their ploughs, and in our country, too, the people have become so impoverished that they are beginning to use not only cows, but men and women to pull ploughs! How profitable, how cheap all this is! How praiseworthy of the middle and small peasants to be so industrious, so diligent, to live such simple lives, and not to waste their time on nonsense, not to think of socialism, but only of their farms, not to strive towards the workers who organise strikes against the bourgeoisie, but towards the rich and try to join the ranks of respectable folk! If only all were so industrious and so diligent, and lived frugally, and did not drink, and saved more money, and spent less on calico, and had fewer children—all would be happy and there would be no poverty and no want!

Such are the sweet songs the bourgeoisie sings to the middle peasant, and there are simpletons who believe these songs and repeat them!* Actually, all these honeyed words are nothing but deceit and mockery of the peasant. What these smooth-tongued people call cheap and profitable farming is the want, the dire need, which forces the middle and small peasant to work from morning till night, to begrudge himself a crust of bread, to grudge every penny he spends. Of course, what can be "cheaper" and "more profitable" than to wear

* In Russia these simpletons who wish the peasant well, but who every now and then start this sort of honeyed talk, are called "Narodniks" or the "advocates of small-scale farming". The "Socialist-Revolutionaries", for lack of understanding, follow in their footsteps. In Germany also there are many smooth-tongued people. One of them, Eduard David, has recently written a big book, in which he says that small farms are infinitely more profitable than large ones, because the small peasant does not spend money needlessly, keeps no horses for ploughing, and is content to use his cow instead, from which he also gets milk.

the same pair of trousers for three years, go about barefoot in summer, repair one's wooden plough with a piece of rope, and feed one's cow on rotten straw from the roof! Put a bourgeois or a rich peasant on such a "cheap" and "profitable" farm, and he will soon forget all this honeyed talk!

The people who extol small-scale farming sometimes want to help the peasant, but actually they only do him harm. With their honeyed words they deceive the peasant in the same way as people are deceived by a *lottery*. I shall tell you what a lottery is. Let us suppose I have a cow, worth 50 rubles. I want to sell the cow by means of a lottery, so I offer everyone tickets at a ruble each. Everyone has a chance of getting the cow for one ruble! People are tempted and the rubles pour in. When I have collected a hundred rubles I proceed to draw the lottery: the one whose ticket is drawn gets the cow for a ruble, the others get nothing. Was the cow "cheap" for the people? No, it was very dear, because the total money they paid was double the value of the cow, because two persons (the one who ran the lottery and the one who won the cow) gained without doing any work, and gained at the expense of the ninety-nine who lost their money. Thus, those who say that lotteries are advantageous to the people are simply practising deceit on the people. Those who promise to deliver the peasants from poverty and want by means of co-operatives of every kind (societies for buying cheap and selling profitably), improved farming, banks, and all that sort of thing, are deceiving them in exactly the same way. Just as in a lottery where there is one winner and all the rest are losers, so it is with these things: one middle peasant may manage to get rich, but ninety-nine of his fellow peasants bend their backs all their lives, never escape from want, and even sink more deeply into poverty. Let every villager examine his commune and the whole district a little more closely: are there many middle peasants who become rich and forget want? And how many are there who can never rid themselves of want? How many are ruined and leave their villages? As we have seen, it has been calculated that in the whole of Russia there are not more than two million middle peasant farms. Suppose there were ten times as many societies of all kinds for buying cheap and selling profitably as there are

now. What would the result be? It would be a big figure if a hundred thousand middle peasants succeeded in raising themselves to the level of the rich. What would that mean? It would mean that out of every hundred middle peasants, five would become rich. But what about the other ninety-five? They would be in the same straits as ever, and many of them would be in even greater difficulties! And the poor would only be impoverished all the more!

Of course, the bourgeoisie want nothing more than that the largest possible number of middle and small peasants should strive to get rich, *believe* in the possibility of escaping from poverty without fighting the bourgeoisie, place their hopes in diligence and frugality and in becoming rich, and not in uniting with the rural and urban workers. The bourgeoisie do all they can to foster this deceptive faith and *hope* in the peasant, and try to lull him with honeyed words.

To expose the deception practised by these smooth-tongued people it is sufficient to ask them three questions.

Question one: can the working people rid themselves of want and poverty when, in Russia, a hundred million dessiatines out of two hundred and forty million dessiatines of arable land belong to private landowners? When sixteen thousand very big landowners possess sixty-five million dessiatines?

Question two: can the working people rid themselves of want and poverty when one and a half million rich peasant households (out of a total of ten million) have concentrated in their hands half of all peasants' land under crops, half the total number of horses and livestock owned by peasants, and much more than half the total peasant stocks and savings? When this peasant bourgeoisie is growing richer and richer, oppressing the poor and middle peasants, making money out of the labour of others, of the farm-hands and day labourers? When six and a half million households consist of poor peasants, destitute, always starving, and reduced to winning a miserable crust of bread by all kinds of wage-labour?

Question three: can the working people rid themselves of want and poverty when money has become the ruling power, when everything can be bought for money—factories and land, and even men and women can be bought to serve as wage-workers, wage-slaves? When no one can live

or run a farm without money? When the small farmer, the poor peasant, has to wage a struggle against the big farmer to get money? When a few thousand landlords, merchants, factory owners, and bankers have concentrated in their hands hundreds of millions of rubles, and, moreover, control all the banks, where thousands of millions of rubles are deposited?

No honeyed words about the advantages of small-scale farming or of co-operatives will enable you to evade these questions. To these questions there can be only one answer: the real "co-operation" that can save the working people is the *union* of the rural poor with the Social-Democratic workers in the towns to fight the entire bourgeoisie. The faster this union grows and becomes strong, the sooner will the middle peasant realise that the promises of the bourgeoisie are all lies, and the sooner will the middle peasant come over to our side.

The bourgeoisie know this, and that is why, in addition to honeyed words, they spread all sorts of lies about the Social-Democrats. They say that the Social-Democrats want to deprive the middle and small peasants of their property. *That is a lie*. The Social-Democrats want to deprive of their property only the big proprietors, *only those who live on the labour of others*. The Social-Democrats *will never take away the property of the small and middle farmers who do not hire labourers*. The Social-Democrats defend and champion the interests of all the working people, not only the interests of the urban workers, who are more class-conscious and more united than the others, but also of the agricultural workers, and of those small artisans and peasants who do not hire workers, do not strive towards the rich, and do not go over to the side of the bourgeoisie. *The Social-Democrats are fighting for all improvements in the conditions of the workers and peasants* which can be introduced immediately, when we have not yet destroyed the rule of the bourgeoisie, and which will help them in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the Social-Democrats do not deceive the peasant; they tell him *the whole truth*, plainly tell him in advance that no improvements will rid the people of want and poverty as long as the bourgeoisie is in power. To enable *all the people* to know what the Social-Democrats are and what

they want, the Social-Democrats have drawn up a *programme*. A programme is a brief, clear, and precise statement *of all the things a party is striving and fighting for*. The Social-Democratic Party is the only party that advances a clear and precise programme for all the people to know and see, and for the party to consist only of people who really want to fight for the emancipation of all the working people from the yoke of the bourgeoisie, and who properly understand who must unite for this fight and how the fight must be conducted. Furthermore, the Social-Democrats believe that they must *explain* in their programme, in a direct, frank, and precise way, *the causes of the poverty and want among the working people*, and why the unity of the workers is becoming wider and stronger. It is not enough to say that life is hard and to call for revolt; every tub-thumper can do that, but it is of little use. The working people must clearly understand *why* they are living in such poverty and *with whom they must unite* in order to fight to liberate themselves from want.

We have already stated what the Social-Democrats want; we have explained the causes of the working people's want and poverty; we have indicated whom the rural poor must fight and with whom they must unite for this fight.

We shall now explain *what improvements* we can win *at once* by fighting for them, improvements in the lives of the workers and in the lives of the peasants.

5. WHAT IMPROVEMENTS ARE THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS STRIVING TO OBTAIN FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE AND FOR THE WORKERS?

The Social-Democrats are fighting for the liberation of all the working people from all robbery, oppression, and injustice. To become free the working class must first of all become united. And to become united it must have freedom to unite, have the right to unite, have political liberty. We have already said that autocratic government means enslavement of the people by the officials and the police. Political liberty is therefore needed by the whole people, except a handful of courtiers and a few money-bags and high

dignitaries who are received at Court. But most of all, political liberty is needed by the workers and the peasants. The rich can escape the self-will and the tyranny of officials and the police by buying them off. The rich can make their complaints heard in the highest places. That is why the police and the officials take much fewer liberties with the rich than with the poor. The workers and the peasants have no money to buy off the police or the officials; they have no one to complain to and are not in a position to sue them in court. The workers and the peasants will never rid themselves of the extortions, tyranny, and insults of the police and the officials as long as there is no *elective government*, as long as there is no *national assembly of deputies*. Only such a national assembly of deputies can free the people from enslavement by the officials. Every intelligent peasant must support the Social-Democrats, who first and foremost demand of the tsarist government *the convocation of a national assembly of deputies*. The deputies must be elected by all, irrespective of social-estate; irrespective of wealth or poverty. The elections must be free, without any interference on the part of the officials; they must be carried out under the supervision of such that enjoy the people's confidence, and not of police officers or the rural superintendents. Under such conditions, deputies representing the entire people will be able to discuss all the needs of the people, and introduce a better state of affairs in Russia.

The Social-Democrats demand that the police be deprived of the power to imprison anyone without trial. Officials must be severely punished for arbitrarily arresting anyone. To put an end to their self-assumed power, they must be chosen by the people, and everyone must have the right to lodge a complaint against any official directly in a court. What is the use of complaining to the rural superintendent about a police officer, or to the governor about the rural superintendent? The rural superintendent will, of course, always protect the police officer and the governor will always protect the rural superintendent, while the complainant will get into trouble. He runs a fair chance of being put into prison or deported to Siberia. The officials will be curbed only when everyone in Russia (as in all other countries) has the right to complain both to the national assembly and to the

elected courts, and to speak freely of his needs, to write about them in the newspapers.

The Russian people are still in feudal dependence upon the officials. Without permission from the officials the people cannot call meetings, or get books and newspapers printed. Is that not feudal dependence? If meetings cannot be freely called, or books freely printed, how can one obtain redress against the officials, or against the rich? Of course, the officials suppress every book, every utterance that tells the truth about the people's poverty. The present pamphlet, too, has to be printed by the Social-Democratic Party secretly and circulated secretly: anyone who is found in possession of this pamphlet will make the acquaintance of courts and prisons. But the Social-Democratic workers are not afraid of this: they print more and more, and give the people more and more truthful books to read. And no prisons, no persecution can halt the fight for the people's freedom!

The Social-Democrats demand that the social-estates be abolished, and that all the citizens of the state enjoy exactly the same rights. Today the social-estates are divided into tax-paying and non-tax-paying, into privileged and non-privileged; we have blue blood and common blood; even the birch has been retained for the common people. In no other country are the workers and peasants in such a position of inferiority. In no country except Russia are there different laws for different social-estates. It is time the Russian people, too, demanded that every muzhik should possess *all the rights* possessed by the nobility. Is it not a disgrace that the birch should still be used and that a *tax-paying* social-estate should be in existence more than forty years after the abolition of serfdom?

The Social-Democrats demand that the people shall have complete freedom of movement and occupation. What does *freedom of movement* mean? It means that the peasant should be free to go wherever he pleases, to move to whatever place he wants to, to live in any village or town he chooses without having to ask for permission from anyone. It means that passports should be abolished in Russia too (in other countries passports were abolished long ago), that no local police officer or rural superintendent should dare to hinder any

peasant from settling or working wherever he pleases. The Russian peasant is still so much the serf of the officials that he is not free to move to a town, or to settle in a new district. The minister issues orders that the governors should not allow *unauthorised* settlement! A governor knows better than the peasant what place is good for the peasant! The peasant is a little child and must not move without permission of the authorities! Is that not feudal dependence? Is it not an insult to the people when any profligate nobleman is allowed to lord it over grown-up farmers?

There is a book called *Crop Failure and the Distress of the People* (famine), written by the present "Minister of Agriculture" Mr. Yermolov. This book says in so many words: the peasant must not change residence as long as their worships the landlords need hands. The minister says this quite openly, without the least embarrassment: he thinks the peasant will not hear what he is saying and will not understand. Why allow people to go away when the landlords need cheap labour? The more crowded the people are on the land the more that is to the landlords' advantage; the poorer the peasants are, the more cheaply can they be hired and the more meekly will they submit to oppression of every kind. Formerly, the bailiffs looked after the landlord's interests, now the rural superintendents and governors do that. Formerly, the bailiffs ordered the flogging of peasants in the stables; now the rural superintendent in the volost administration office orders the flogging.

The Social-Democrats demand that the standing army be abolished and that a militia be established in its stead, that all the people be armed. A standing army is an army that is divorced from the people and trained to shoot down the people. If the soldier were not locked up for years in barracks and inhumanly drilled there, would he ever agree to shoot down his brothers, the workers and the peasants? Would he go against the starving peasants? A standing army is not needed in the least to protect the country from attack by an enemy; a people's militia is sufficient. If every citizen is armed, Russia need fear no enemy. And the people would be relieved of the yoke of the military clique. The upkeep of this clique costs *hundreds of millions of rubles a year*, and all this money is collected from the people; that is why the taxes

are so heavy and why it becomes increasingly difficult to live. The military clique still further increases the power of the officials and police over the people. This clique is needed to plunder foreign peoples, for instance, to take the land from the Chinese. This does not ease but, on the contrary, increases the people's burden because of greater taxation. The substitution of the armed nation for the standing army would enormously ease the burden of all the workers and all the peasants.

Similarly, *the abolition of indirect taxation*, which the Social-Democrats demand, would be an enormous relief. Indirect taxes are such taxes that are not imposed directly on land or on a house but are paid by the people *indirectly*, in the form of higher prices for what they buy. The state imposes taxes on sugar, vodka, kerosene, matches, and all sorts of articles of consumption; these taxes are paid to the Treasury by the merchant or by the manufacturer, but, of course, he does not pay it out of his own pocket, but out of the money his customers pay him. The price of vodka, sugar, kerosene, and matches goes up, and every purchaser of a bottle of vodka or of a pound of sugar has to pay the tax in addition to the price of the goods. For instance, if, say, you pay fourteen kopeks for a pound of sugar, four kopeks (approximately) constitute the tax: the sugar-manufacturer has already paid the tax to the Treasury and is now exacting from every customer the sum he has paid. Thus, indirect taxes are taxes on articles of consumption, taxes which are paid by the purchaser in the form of higher prices for the articles he buys. It is sometimes said that indirect taxation is the fairest form of taxation: you pay according to the amount you buy. But this is not true. Indirect taxation is the most unfair form of taxation, because it is harder for the poor to pay indirect taxes than it is for the rich. The rich man's income is ten times or even a hundred times as large as that of the peasant or worker. But does the rich man need a hundred times as much sugar? Or ten times as much vodka, or matches, or kerosene? Of course not! A rich family will buy twice, at most, three times as much kerosene, vodka, or sugar as a poor family. But that means that the rich man will pay a *smaller part* of his income in taxes than the poor man. Let us suppose that the poor peasant's income is two

hundred rubles a year; let us suppose he buys sixty rubles' worth of such goods as are taxed and which are consequently dearer (the tax on sugar, matches, kerosene, is an *excise duty*, i.e., the manufacturer pays the duty before placing the goods on the market; in the case of vodka, a state monopoly, the State simply raises the price; cotton goods, iron and other goods have risen in price because cheap foreign goods are not admitted into Russia unless a heavy duty is paid on them). Of these sixty rubles *twenty rubles* will constitute the tax. Thus, out of every ruble of his income the poor peasant will pay *ten kopeks* in indirect taxes (exclusive of direct taxes, land redemption payments, quit-rent, land tax, Zemstvo, volost and *mir* taxes). The rich peasant has an income of one thousand rubles; he will buy one hundred and fifty rubles' worth of taxed goods and pay fifty rubles in taxes (included in the one hundred and *fifty rubles*). Thus, out of every ruble of his income the rich peasant will pay only *five kopeks* in indirect taxes. The richer the man, the *smaller* is the share of his income that he pays in indirect taxes. That is why indirect taxation is *the most unfair* form of taxation. Indirect taxes are taxes on the poor. The peasants and workers together form nine-tenths of the population and pay nine-tenths or eight-tenths of the total indirect taxation. And, in all probability, the income of the peasants and workers amounts to no more than four-tenths of the whole national income! And so, the Social-Democrats demand the abolition of indirect taxation and the introduction of a *progressive* tax on incomes and inheritances. That means that the higher the income the higher the tax. Those who have an income of a thousand rubles must pay one kopek in the ruble; if the income is two thousand, two kopeks in the ruble must be paid, and so on. The smallest incomes (let us say incomes of under four hundred rubles) do not pay anything at all. The richest pay the highest taxes. Such a tax, an *income*-tax, or more exactly, a *progressive income*-tax, would be much fairer than indirect taxes. And that is why the Social-Democrats are striving to secure the abolition of indirect taxation and the introduction of a progressive income-tax. Of Course, all the property-owners, all the bourgeoisie, object to this measure and resist it. Only through a firm alliance between the rural poor and

the urban workers can this improvement be *won* from the bourgeoisie.

Finally, the *free education* of children, which the Social-Democrats demand, would be a very important improvement for the whole of the people, and for the rural poor in particular. Today there are far fewer schools in the countryside than in the towns, and everywhere it is only the rich classes, only the bourgeoisie, who are in a position to give their children a good education. Only free and compulsory education for *all children* can get the people, at least to some extent, out of their present state of ignorance. The rural poor suffer most from this ignorance and stand in particular need of education. But, of course, we need real, free education, and not the sort the officials and the priests *want to give*.

The Social-Democrats further demand that everybody shall have full and unrestricted right to profess any religion he pleases. Of the European countries Russia and Turkey are the only ones which have retained shameful laws against persons belonging to any other faith than the Orthodox, laws against schismatics, sectarians, and Jews. These laws either totally ban a certain religion, or prohibit its propagation, or deprive those who belong to it of certain rights. All these laws are as unjust, as arbitrary and as disgraceful as can be. Everybody must be perfectly free, not only to profess whatever religion he pleases, *but also to spread or change his religion*. No official should have the right even to ask anyone about his religion: that is a matter for each person's conscience and no one has any right to interfere. There should be no "*established*" religion or church. All religions and all churches should have equal status in law. The clergy of the various religions should be paid salaries by those who belong to their religions, but the state should not use state money to support any religion whatever, should not grant money to maintain any clergy, Orthodox, schismatic, sectarian, or any other. That is what the Social-Democrats are fighting for, and until these measures are carried out without any reservation and without any subterfuge, the people will not be freed from the disgraceful police persecution of religion, or from the no less disgraceful police hand-outs to any one of those religions.

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We have seen what improvements the Social-Democrats are out to achieve for all the people, and especially for the poor. Now let us see what improvements they strive to achieve for the workers, not only for factory and urban workers, but for agricultural workers too. The factory workers live in more cramped conditions; they work in large workshops, so it is easier for them to avail themselves of the assistance of educated Social-Democrats. For all these reasons the urban workers started the struggle against the employers much earlier than the others and have achieved more considerable improvements; they have also obtained the passing of factory laws. But the Social-Democrats are fighting for the extension of these improvements to *all* the workers: to handicraftsmen both in town and country, who work for employers at home; to the wage-workers employed by petty masters and artisans; to workers in the building trades (carpenters, bricklayers, etc.); to lumbermen and unskilled labourers, *and also the agricultural labourers*. All over Russia, all these workers are now beginning to unite, following the example of, and aided by, the factory workers, to unite for the struggle for better conditions of life, for a shorter working day, *for higher wages*. And the Social-Democratic Party has set itself the task of supporting *all* workers in their struggle for a better life, of helping them to organise (to unite) the most resolute and reliable workers in strong unions, of helping them by circulating pamphlets and leaflets, by sending experienced workers to those new to the movement, and in general helping all the workers in every possible way. When we have won political liberty, we shall have our people in a national assembly of deputies, worker deputies, Social-Democrats, and, like their comrades in other countries, they will demand laws for the benefit of the workers.

We shall not enumerate here *all* the improvements the Social-Democratic Party is striving to obtain for the workers: they have been set out in our programme and explained in detail in the pamphlet, *The Workers' Cause in Russia*. Here it will be sufficient to mention the most important of those improvements. The working day must not be longer

than eight hours. One day a week must always be a day of rest. Overtime must be absolutely banned, and so must night-work. Children up to the age of sixteen must be given free education and, consequently, must not be allowed to work for hire until that age. Women must not work in trades injurious to their health. The employer must compensate the workers for all injury caused during work, for example, for injury caused when working on threshing-machines, winnowing-machines, and so forth. All wage-workers must always be paid *weekly*, and not once in two months or once in a quarter as is often the case with agricultural labourers. It is very important for the workers to be paid regularly every week and, moreover, to be paid in cash, and not in goods. Employers are very fond of making the workers accept all sorts of worthless goods at exorbitant prices in payment of wages; to put an end to this disgraceful practice, the payment of wages in goods must be absolutely prohibited by law. Further, aged workers must receive state pensions. By their labour the workers maintain all the rich classes, and the whole state, and that gives them as much right to pensions as government officials, who get pensions. To prevent employers from taking advantage of their position to disregard regulations introduced to protect the workers, inspectors must be appointed to supervise, not only the factories, but also the big landlord farms and, in general, all enterprises where wage-labour is employed. But those inspectors must not be government officials, or be appointed by ministers or governors, or be in the service of the police. The inspectors must *be elected by the workers*; the state must pay salaries to persons who enjoy the confidence of the workers and whom they have freely elected. These elected deputies of the workers must also see to it that the workers' dwellings are kept in proper condition, that the employers dare not compel the workers to live in what is like pigsties or in mud huts (as is often the case with agricultural labourers), that the rules concerning the workers' rest are observed, and so on. It must not be forgotten, however, that no elected workers' deputies will be of any use as long as there is no political liberty, as long as the police are all-powerful, and are not responsible to the people. Everyone knows that at present the police will arrest

without trial, not only workers' deputies but any worker who will dare speak in the name of all his fellow workers, expose breaches of the law, or call on the workers to unite. But when we have political liberty, the workers' deputies will be of very great use.

All employers (factory owners, landlords, contractors, and rich peasants) should *be absolutely forbidden* to make any arbitrary deductions from the wages of their workers, for example, deductions for defective goods, deductions in the form of fines, etc. It is unlawful and tyrannical for employers *arbitrarily* to make deductions from workers' wages. The employer must not reduce a worker's wage by means of any deductions, or in any way whatsoever. The employer should not be allowed to pass and execute judgement (a fine sort of judge, who pockets the deductions from the worker's wages!); he should appeal to a *proper court*, and this court must consist of deputies elected by the workers and the employers in equal numbers. Only such a court will be able to judge fairly all the grievances of the employers against the workers and of the workers against the employers.

Such are the improvements the Social-Democrats are striving to obtain for the whole of the working class. The workers on every landed estate, on every farm, in the employ of every contractor, must meet and discuss with trustworthy persons what improvements they must strive to obtain and what demands they should advance (for the demands of the workers will, of course, be different at different factories, on different estates, and with different contractors).

All over Russia *Social-Democratic committees* are helping the workers to formulate their demands in a clear and precise way, and are helping them to issue printed leaflets where these demands are set out, so that they may be known to all workers, and to the employers and the authorities. When the workers unite as one man in support of their demands, the employers always have to give way and agree to them. In the towns the workers have already obtained many improvements in this way, and now handicraftsmen, artisans, and agricultural labourers are also beginning to unite (to organise) and fight for their demands. As long as we have no political liberty, we carry on the fight in

secret, hiding from the police, who prohibit the publication of all leaflets and associations of workers. But when we have won political liberty, we shall carry on the fight on a wider scale and openly, so that working people all over Russia may unite and defend themselves more vigorously from oppression. The larger the number of workers who unite *in the workers' Social-Democratic Party*, the stronger will they be, the sooner will they be able to achieve the complete emancipation of the working class from all oppression, from all wage-labour, from all toil for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

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We have already said that the Social-Democratic Labour Party is striving to obtain improvements, not only for the workers, but also for *all the peasants*. Now let us see what improvements it is striving to obtain for all the peasants.

6. WHAT IMPROVEMENTS ARE THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS STRIVING TO OBTAIN FOR ALL THE PEASANTS?

To secure the complete emancipation of all working people, the rural poor must, in alliance with the urban workers, wage a fight against the whole of the bourgeoisie, including the rich peasants. The rich peasants will strive to pay their farm labourers as little as possible and make them work as long and as hard as possible; but the workers in town and countryside will try to secure better wages, better conditions, and regular rest periods for farm labourers working for the rich peasants. That means that the rural poor must form their own unions apart from the rich peasants. We have already said this, and we shall always repeat it.

But in Russia, all peasants, rich and poor, are still serfs in many respects; they are an *inferior*, "*black*", *tax-paying social-estate*; they are all serfs of the police officers and rural superintendents; very often they have to work for the landlord in payment for the use of the cut-off lands, watering places, pastures or meadows, just as they worked for the feudal lord under the serf-owning system. *All* the peasants want to be free of this new serfdom; *all* of them want to have

full rights; *all* of them hate the landlords, who still compel them to *perform serf labour*, to pay "labour rent" for the use of the gentry's land and pastures, watering places and meadows, to work also "for damage" done by straying cattle and to send their womenfolk to reap the landlord's field merely "for the honour of it". All this labour rent for the landlord is a heavier burden for the poor peasants than for the rich peasants. The rich peasant is sometimes able to pay the landlord money in lieu of this work, but as a rule even the rich peasant is badly squeezed by the landlord. Hence, the rural poor must fight side by side with the rich peasants against their lack of rights, against every kind of serf labour, against every kind of labour rent. We shall be able to abolish *all* bondage, *all* poverty only when we defeat the bourgeoisie *as a whole* (including the rich peasants). But there are forms of bondage which we can abolish *before that time*, because even the rich peasant suffers badly from them. There are many localities and many districts in Russia where very often all the peasants are still quite like serfs. That is why all Russian workers and all the rural poor must *fight with both hands and on two sides*: with one hand—*fight against all the bourgeois*, in alliance with all the workers; and with the other hand—*fight against the rural officials, against the feudal landlords*, in alliance with all the peasants. If the rural poor do not form their own union separately from the rich peasants they will be deceived by the rich peasants, who will become landlords themselves, while the landless poor will not only remain poor and without land but will not even be granted freedom to unite. If the rural poor do not fight side by side with the rich peasants against feudal bondage, they will remain fettered and tied down to one place, neither will they gain full freedom to unite with the urban workers.

The rural poor must first strike at the landlords and throw off at least the most vicious and most pernicious forms of feudal bondage; in this fight many of the rich peasants and adherents of the bourgeoisie will also take the side of the poor, because everybody is disgusted with the arrogance of the landlords. But as soon as we have curtailed the power of the landlords, the rich peasant will at once reveal his true character and stretch out greedy hands to grab

everything; these are rapacious hands and they have already grabbed a great deal. Hence, we must be on our guard and form a strong, indestructible alliance with the urban workers. The urban workers will help to knock the old aristocratic habits out of the landlords and also tame the rich peasants a bit (as they have already somewhat tamed their own bosses, the factory owners). Without an alliance with the urban workers the rural poor will *never* rid themselves of all forms of bondage, want, and poverty; except for the urban workers, there is *no one* to help the rural poor, and they can count on no one but themselves. But there are improvements which we can obtain earlier, which we can obtain immediately, at the very outset of this great struggle. There are many forms of bondage in Russia which have long ceased to exist in other countries, and it is from this bondage imposed by the officials and landlords, this feudal bondage, that *the Russian peasantry as a whole* can free itself *immediately*.

Let us now see what improvements the workers' Social-Democratic Party is striving first of all to obtain so as to free the Russian peasantry as a whole from at least the most vicious forms of feudal bondage, and so as to untie the hands of the rural poor for their struggle against the Russian bourgeoisie as a whole.

The first demand of the workers' Social-Democratic Party is the immediate abolition of all land redemption payments, all quit-rent, and all the dues imposed upon the "tax-paying" peasantry. When the committees of nobles and the Russian tsar's government, consisting of nobles, "emancipated" the peasants from serfdom, the peasants were compelled to *buy out their own* land, to buy out the land which they had tilled for generations! That was *robbery*. The committees of nobles, assisted by the tsarist government, simply *robbed* the peasants. The tsarist government sent troops to many places to impose the title-deeds[126] upon the peasants *by force*, to take military punitive measures against the peasants, who were unwilling to accept the curtailed "pauper" allotments. Without the help of the troops, without brutality and shootings, the committees of nobles would never have been able to rob the peasants in the brazen way they did at the time of the emancipation

from serfdom. The peasants must always remember how they were cheated and robbed by those committees of landowning nobles, because even today the tsarist government always appoints committees of nobles or officials whenever it is a question of passing new laws concerning the peasants. The tsar recently issued a manifesto (February 26, 1903), in which he promises to revise and improve the laws concerning the peasants. Who will do the revising? Who will do the improving? Again the nobility, again the officials! The peasants will always be defrauded until they secure the setting up of *peasant committees* for the purpose of improving their conditions of life. It is time to put a stop to the landlords, rural superintendents, and all kinds of officials lording it over the peasants! It is time to put a stop to this feudal dependence of the peasant upon every police officer, upon every drink-sodden scion of the nobility who is called a rural superintendent, a police chief, or a governor! The peasants must demand freedom to manage their affairs *themselves*, freedom to consider, propose, and carry out new laws *themselves*. The peasants must demand the setting up of free, elected *peasant committees*, and until they obtain this they will always be defrauded and robbed by the nobility and the officials. No one will free the peasants from the official leeches, if they do not free themselves, if they do not unite and take their fate into *their own* hands.

The Social-Democrats not only demand the complete and immediate abolition of land redemption payments, quit-rent, and imposts of all kinds; they also demand that money taken from the people in the form of land redemption payments should be *restituted to the people*. Hundreds of millions of rubles have been paid up by peasants all over Russia since they were emancipated from serfdom by the committees of nobles. The peasants must demand that this money be returned to them. Let the government impose a special tax on the big landed nobility; let the land be taken from the monasteries and from the Department of Demesnes (i.e., from the tsar's family); let the national assembly of deputies use this money for the benefit of the peasants. Nowhere in the world is the peasant so downtrodden or so impoverished as is in Russia. Nowhere do millions of peasants die so horribly of starvation as they do in Russia. The

peasants in Russia have been reduced to dying of starvation because they were robbed long ago by the committees of nobles, and are being robbed to this day by being forced to pay tribute to the heirs of the feudal landlords every year in the form of redemption payments and quit-rent. The robbers must be made to answer for their crimes! Let money be taken away from the big landed nobility so as to provide effective relief for the famine-stricken. The starving peasant does not need charity, he does not need paltry doles; he must demand the return of the money he has paid for years and years to the landlords and to the state. The national assembly of deputies and the peasant committees will then be able to give real and effective assistance to the starving.

Further. The Social-Democratic Labour Party demands the immediate abolition of collective liability and of *all laws restricting the peasant in the free disposal of his land*. The tsar's Manifesto of February 26,1903, promises the abolition of collective liability. A law to this effect has already been passed. But this is not enough. *All laws* that prevent the peasant from freely disposing of his land must be abolished immediately; otherwise, even without collective liability the peasant will not *be quite free* and will remain a semi-serf. The peasant must be quite free to dispose of his land: to let or sell it to whomsoever he pleases, without having to ask for permission from anyone. That is what the tsar's ukase does not permit: the gentry, the merchants, and the townspeople are free to dispose of their land, but the peasant is not. The peasant is a little child, who must have a rural superintendent to look after him like a nurse. The peasant must not be allowed to sell his allotment, for he will squander the money! That is how the feudal die-hards argue, and there are simpletons who believe them and, wishing the peasant well, say that he must not be allowed to sell his land. Even the Narodniks (of whom we have already spoken) and the people who call themselves "Socialist-Revolutionaries" also yield to this argument and agree that it is bettor for the peasant to remain somewhat of a serf rather than be allowed to sell his land.

The Social-Democrats say: that is sheer hypocrisy, aristocratic talk, merely honeyed words! When we have attained socialism, and the working class has defeated the

bourgeoisie, the land will be owned in common and nobody will have the right to sell land. But what in the meantime? Are the nobleman and the merchant to be allowed to sell their land, while the peasant is not!? Are the nobleman and the merchant to be free while the peasant remains a semi-serf!? Is the peasant to continue to have to beg permission from the authorities!?

All this is mere deceit, though covered up with honeyed words, but it is deceit for all that.

As long as the nobleman and the merchant are allowed to sell land, the peasant must also have *full right* to sell his land and to dispose of it with *complete freedom*, in exactly the same way as the nobleman and the merchant.

When the working class has defeated the entire bourgeoisie, it will take the land away from the big proprietors and introduce *co-operative farming* on the big estates, so that the workers will farm the land together, in common, and freely elect delegates to manage the farms. They will have all kinds of labour-saving machines, and work in shifts for not more than eight (or even six) hours a day. The small peasant who prefers to carry on his farm in the old way on individual lines will not then produce for the market, to sell to the first comer, but for the workers' co-operatives; the small peasant will supply the workers' co-operatives with grain, meat, vegetables, and the workers in return will provide him free of charge with machines, livestock, fertilisers, clothes, and whatever else he needs. There will then be no struggle for money between the big and the small farmer; there will then be no working for hire for others; all workers will work for themselves, all improvements in methods of production and all machines will benefit the workers themselves and help to make their work easier, improve their standard of living.

But every sensible man understands that socialism cannot be attained at once: to attain it a fierce struggle must be waged against the entire bourgeoisie and all governments; all urban workers all over Russia must unite in a firm and unbreakable alliance with all the rural poor. That is a great cause, and to that cause it is worth devoting one's whole life. But until we have attained socialism, the big owner will always fight the small owner for money. Is the

big landowner to be free to sell his land, while the small peasant is not? We repeat: the peasants are not little children and will not allow anyone to lord it over them; the peasants must receive, without any restriction, *all the rights* enjoyed by the nobility and the merchants.

It is also said: the peasant's land is not his own, but communal land. Everyone cannot be allowed to sell communal land. This, too, is a deception. Have not the nobles and the merchants their associations too? Do not the nobles and the merchants combine to float companies for the joint purchase of land, factories, or any other thing? Why then are no restrictions invented for the associations of the nobility, while the police scoundrels zealously think up restrictions and prohibitions for the peasantry? The peasants have never received anything good from the officials, except beatings, extortions, and bullying. The peasants will never receive anything good until they take their affairs into their own hands, until they obtain complete equality of rights and complete liberty. If the peasants want their land to be communal, no one will dare to interfere with them; and they will voluntarily form an association which will include whomsoever they like, and on whatever terms they like; they will quite freely draw up a communal contract in whatever form they like. And let no official dare poke his nose into the communal affairs of the peasants. Let no one dare exercise his wits on the peasants and invent restrictions and prohibitions for them.

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Lastly, there is another important improvement which the Social-Democrats are striving to obtain for the peasants. They want immediately to impose limits on the peasants' bondage to the nobility, their serf bondage. Of course bondage cannot be completely abolished as long as poverty exists, and poverty cannot be abolished as long as the land and the factories are in the hands of the bourgeoisie, as long as money is the principal power in the world, and until a *socialist society* has been established. But in the Russian countryside there is still much bondage of a particularly vicious sort which does not exist in other countries, although

socialism has not yet been established there. There is still much *serf bondage* in Russia which is profitable to all the landlords, weighs heavily on all the peasants, and can and must be abolished immediately, in the first place.

Let us explain the sort of bondage we call serf bondage.

Everyone who lives in the country knows cases like the following. The landlord's land adjoins the peasant's land. At the time of the emancipation the peasants were deprived of land that was indispensable to them: pasture, woodland, and watering places were cut off. The peasants cannot do without this cut-off land, without pastures and watering places. Whether they like it or not the peasants are forced to go to the landlord to ask him to let their cattle to go to the water, to graze on the pastures, and so forth. The landlord does not farm any land himself and, perhaps, has no money; he lives only by keeping the peasants in thrall. In return for the use of the cut-off lands the peasants work for him for nothing; they plough his land with their horses, harvest his grain and mow his hay, thresh his grain, and in some places even have to cart their manure to the landlord's fields, or bring him homespun cloth, and eggs and poultry. Just as under serfdom! Under serfdom the peasants had to work for nothing for the landlord on whose estate they lived, and today they very often have to work for nothing for the landlord in return for the very same land which the committees of nobles filched from them at the time of the emancipation. It is just the same as the corvée system. In some gubernias the peasants themselves call this system *barshchina*, or *panshchina*. Well, that is what we call serf bondage. At the time of the emancipation from serfdom the committees of landowning nobles deliberately arranged matters in such a way as to keep the peasants in bondage in the old way. They would deliberately dock the peasants' allotments; they would drive a wedge of the landlord's land in between peasants' holdings so as to make it impossible for the peasant even to let his poultry out without trespassing; they would deliberately transfer the peasants to inferior land, deliberately block the way to the watering place by a strip of landlord's land—in short, they arranged matters in such a way that the peasants should find themselves in a trap, and, just as before, could easily be taken

captive. There are still countless numbers of villages where the peasants are in captivity to nearby landlords, just as much as they were under serfdom. In villages like these, both the rich peasant and the poor peasant are bound hand and foot and at the mercy of the landlords. The poor peasant fares even worse than the rich peasant from this state of affairs. The rich peasant sometimes owns some land and sends his labourer to work for the landlord instead of going himself, but the poor peasant has no way out, and the landlord does what he likes to him. Under this bondage the poor peasant often has not even a moment's breathing-space; he cannot go to look for work elsewhere because of the work he has to do for his landlord; he cannot even think of freely uniting in one union, in one party, with all the rural poor and the urban workers.

Well then, are there no means by which it would be possible to abolish this sort of bondage at once, forthwith, immediately? The Social-Democratic Labour Party proposes to the peasants *two* means to this end. But we must repeat that only socialism can deliver all the poor from bondage of every kind, for as long as the rich have power they will always oppress the poor in one way or another. It is impossible to abolish all bondage at once, but it is possible greatly to restrict the most vicious, the most revolting form of bondage, serf bondage, which weighs heavily on the poor, on the middle and even on the rich peasants; it is possible to obtain immediate relief for the peasants.

There are two means to this end.

First means: freely elected courts consisting of delegates of the farm labourers and poor peasants, as well as of the rich peasants and landlords.

Second means: freely elected *peasant committees*. These peasant committees must have the right, not only to discuss and adopt all kinds of measures for abolishing the corvée, for abolishing the remnants of serfdom, but they must also have the right *to expropriate the cut-off lands and restore them to the peasants*.

Let us consider these two means a little more closely. The freely elected delegate courts will consider all cases arising out of complaints of peasants against bondage. Such courts will have the right to reduce rents for land if the

landlord, taking advantage of the peasants' poverty, has fixed them too high. Such courts will have the right to free the peasants from exorbitant payments; when a landlord engages a peasant in the winter for summer work at an excessively low wage, the court will judge the case and fix a fair wage. Of course, such courts must not consist of officials, but of freely elected delegates, and the agricultural labourers and the rural poor must also without fail elect their delegates, whose number must not in any case be less than those elected by the rich peasants and the landlords. Such courts will also try disputes between labourers and employers. When such courts exist it will be easier for the labourers and all the rural poor to defend their rights, to unite and to find out exactly what people can be trusted to stand up faithfully for the poor and for the labourers.

The other means is still more important: the establishment of free *peasant committees* consisting of elected delegates of the farm labourers and poor, middle and rich peasants in every uyezd (or, if the peasants think fit, they may elect several committees in each uyezd; perhaps they will even prefer to establish peasant committees in every volost and in every large village). No one knows better than the peasants themselves what bondage oppresses them. No one will be able to expose the landlords, who to this day live by keeping the peasants in thrall, better than the peasants themselves. The peasant committees will decide what cut-off lands, what meadows, pastures, and so forth, were taken from the peasants unfairly; they will decide whether those lands shall be expropriated without compensation, or whether those who bought such lands should be paid compensation at the expense of the high nobility. The peasant committees will at least release the peasants from the traps into which they were driven by very many committees of the landowning nobles. The peasant committees will rid the peasants of interference by officials; they will show that the peasants themselves want to, and can, manage their own affairs; they will help the peasants to reach agreement among themselves about their needs and to recognise those who are really able to stand up for the rural poor and for an alliance with the urban workers. The peasant committees will be the *first step* towards enabling the peasants even in

remote villages to get on to their feet and to take their fate into their own hands.

That is why the Social-Democratic workers warn the peasants:

Place no faith in any committees of nobles, or in any commissions consisting of officials.

Demand a national assembly of deputies.

Demand the establishment of peasant committees.

Demand complete freedom to publish pamphlets and newspapers of every kind.

When all have the right freely and fearlessly to express their opinions and their wishes in the national assembly of deputies, in the peasant committees, and in the newspapers, it will very soon be seen who is on the side of the working class and who is on the side of the bourgeoisie. Today, the great majority of the people do not think about these things at all; some conceal their real views, some do not yet know their own minds, and some lie deliberately. But when this right has been won, everyone will begin to think about these things; there will be no reason for concealing anything, and everything will soon become clear. We have already said that the bourgeoisie will draw the rich peasants to its side. The sooner and the more completely we succeed in abolishing serf bondage, and the more real freedom the peasants obtain for themselves, the sooner will the rural poor unite among themselves, and the sooner will the rich peasants unite with all the bourgeoisie. Let them unite: we are not afraid of that, although we know perfectly well that this will strengthen the rich peasants. But we, too, will unite, and *our union*, the union between the rural poor and the urban workers, will embrace far more people. It will be a union of tens of millions against a union of hundreds of thousands. We also know that the bourgeoisie will try (it is already trying!) to attract the middle and even the small peasants to its side; it will try to deceive them, entice them, sow dissension among them, and promise to raise each of them into the ranks of the rich. We have already seen the means and the deceit the bourgeoisie resort to in order to lure the middle peasant. We must therefore open the eyes of the rural poor beforehand, and consolidate in advance their separate union with the urban workers against the entire bourgeoisie.

Let every villager look around carefully. How often we hear the rich peasants talking against the nobility, against the landlords! How they complain of the oppression the people suffer from! Or of the landlords' land lying idle! How they love to talk (in private conversation) about what a good thing it would be if the peasants took possession of the land!

Can we believe what the rich peasants say? No. They do not want the land for the people; they want it for themselves. They have already got hold of a great deal of land, bought outright or rented, and still they are not satisfied. *Hence, the rural poor will not long have to march side by side with the rich peasants against the landlords*. Only the first step will have to be taken in their company, and after that their ways will part.

That is why we must draw a clear distinction between this first step and subsequent steps, and our final and most important step. The first step in the countryside will be the complete emancipation of the peasant, full rights for the peasant, and the establishment of peasant committees for the purpose of restoring the cut-off lands. But our final step will be the same in both town and country: *we shall take all the land and all the factories from the landlords and the bourgeoisie and set up a socialist society*. We shall have to go through a big struggle in the period between our first step and the final, *and whoever confuses the first step with the final weakens that struggle and unwittingly helps to hoodwink the rural poor.*

The rural poor will take the first step together with all the peasants: a few kulaks may fall out, perhaps one peasant in a hundred is willing to put up with any kind of bondage. But the overwhelming mass of the peasants will, as yet, advance as one whole: all the peasants want equal rights. Bondage to the landlords ties everyone hand and foot. But the final step will never be taken by all the peasants together: then, all the rich peasants will turn against the farm labourers. Then, it is a strong union of the rural poor and the *urban Social-Democratic workers* that we need. Whoever tells the peasants that they can take the first and the final step simultaneously is deceiving them. He forgets about the great struggle that is going on among the peasants them-

selves, the great struggle between the rural poor and the rich peasants.

That is why the Social-Democrats do not promise the peasants *immediately* a land flowing with milk and honey. That is why the Social-Democrats first of all demand complete freedom for the struggle, for the great, nation-wide struggle of the entire working class against the entire bourgeoisie. That is why the Social-Democrats advise a *small but sure first step*.

Some people think that our demand for the establishment of peasant committees for the purpose of restricting bondage and of restoring the cut-off lands is a sort of fence or barrier, as if we meant to say: stop, not a step farther! These people have given insufficient thought to what the Social-Democrats want. The demand for peasant committees to be set up for the purpose of restricting bondage and of restoring the cut-off lands is not a barrier. It is a *door*. We must first pass through this door *in order to go farther*, to march along the wide and open road *to the very end*, to the complete emancipation of all working people in Russia. Until the peasants pass through this door they will remain in ignorance and bondage, without full rights, without complete and real liberty; they will not even be able to decide definitely among themselves who is the friend of the working man and who his enemy. That is why the Social-Democrats point to this door and say that the entire people must all together first force this door and smash it in. But there are people who call themselves Narodniks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who also wish the peasant well, shout and make a noise, wave their arms about and want to help him, but *they do not see that door*! Those people are so blind that they even say: there is no need at all to give the peasant the right freely to dispose of his land! They wish the peasant well, but sometimes they argue exactly like the feudal die-hards! Such friends can be of little help. What is the use of wishing the peasant all the best if you don't clearly see the very first door that must be smashed? What is the use of wanting socialism if you don't see how to enter on the road of a free, people's struggle for socialism, not only in the towns, but also in the countryside, not only against the landlords, but also *against the rich peasants in the village commune, the "mir"*?

That is why the Social-Democrats point so insistently to this first and nearest door. The difficult thing at this stage is not to express a lot of good wishes, but to point to the right road, to understand clearly *how the very first step should be taken*. All friends of the peasant have been talking and writing for the past forty years about the Russian peasant being crushed by bondage and about his remaining a semi-serf. Long before there were any Social-Democrats in Russia, the friends of the peasant wrote many books describing how shamefully the landlords robbed and enslaved the peasant by means of the various cut-off lands. All honest people now realise that the peasant must be given assistance at once, immediately, that he must get at least some relief from this bondage; even officials in our police government are beginning to talk about this. The whole question is: *how to set about it*, *how* to take *the first step*, which door must be forced first?

To this question different people (among those who wish the peasant well) give two different answers. Every rural proletarian must try to understand these two answers as clearly as possible and form a definite and firm opinion about them. One answer is given by the Narodniks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries. The first thing to be done, they say, is to develop all sorts of societies (co-operatives) among the peasants. The unity of the *mir* must be strengthened. Every peasant should not be given the right to dispose of his land freely. Let the rights of the commune, the *mir*, be extended, and let all the land in Russia gradually become communal land. The peasants must be granted every assistance to purchase land, so that the land may more easily pass from capital to labour.

The other answer is given by the Social-Democrats. The peasant must first of all obtain for himself all the rights possessed by the nobility and the merchants, all without exception. The peasant must have full right to dispose freely of his land. In order to abolish the most revolting forms of bondage, peasant committees must be set up for the purpose of restoring the cut-off lands. We need not the unity of the *mir*, but unity of the rural poor in the different village communes all over Russia, unity of the rural proletarians with the urban proletarians. All sorts of societies

(co-operatives) and the communal purchase of land will always benefit the rich peasants most, and will always serve to hoodwink the middle peasants.

The Russian Government realises that some relief must be given to the peasants, but it wants to make shift with trifles; it wants everything to be done by the officials. The peasants must be on the alert, because commissions of officials will cheat them just as they were cheated by the committees of nobles. The peasants must demand the election of free peasant committees. The important thing is not to expect improvement from the officials, but for the peasants to take their fate into their own hands. Let us at first take only one step, at first abolish only the vicious forms of bondage—so that the peasants should become conscious of their strength, so that they should freely reach a common agreement and unite! No honest person can deny that the cut-off lands often serve as the instruments of the most outrageous serf bondage. No honest person can deny that our demand is the primary and fairest of demands: let the peasants freely elect *their own* committees, without the officials, for the purpose of abolishing all serf bondage.

In the free peasant committees (just as in the free all-Russian assembly of deputies) the Social-Democrats will at once do all in their power to consolidate a distinct union of the rural proletarians with the urban proletarians. The Social-Democrats will make a stand for all measures for the benefit of the rural proletarians and will help them to follow up the first step, as quickly as possible and as unitedly as possible, with the second and the third step, and so on to the very end, to the complete *victory of the proletariat*. But can we say today, at once, what demand will be appropriate tomorrow for the second step? No, we cannot, because we do not know what stand will be taken tomorrow by the rich peasants, and by many educated people who are concerned with all kinds of co-operatives and with the land passing from capital to labour.

Perhaps they will not yet succeed in reaching an understanding with the landlords on the morrow; perhaps they will want to put an end to landlord rule completely. Very good! The Social-Democrats would very much like this to happen, and they will advise rural and urban proletarians

to demand that all the land be taken from the landlords and transferred to the free people's state. The Social-Democrats will vigilantly see to it that the rural proletarians are not cheated in the course of this, and that they still further consolidate their forces for the final struggle for the complete emancipation of the proletariat.

But things may turn out quite differently. In fact, it is more likely that they will turn out differently. On the very day after the worst forms of bondage have been restricted and curtailed, the rich peasants and many educated people may unite with the landlords, and then the entire rural bourgeoisie will rise against the entire rural proletariat. In that event it would be ridiculous for us to fight only the landlords. We would then have to fight the entire bourgeoisie and demand first of all the greatest possible freedom and elbow-room for this fight, demand better conditions of life for the workers in order to facilitate this struggle.

In any case, whichever way things turn out, our first, our principal and indispensable task is *to strengthen the alliance of the rural proletarians and semi-proletarians with the urban proletarians*. For this alliance we need at once, immediately, *complete political liberty for the people*, *complete equality of rights for the peasants and the abolition of serf bondage*. And when that alliance is established and strengthened, we shall easily expose all the deceit the bourgeoisie resorts to in order to attract the middle peasant; we shall easily and quickly take the second, the third and the last step against the entire bourgeoisie, against all the government forces, and we shall unswervingly march to victory and rapidly achieve the *complete emancipation of all working people*.

7. THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

What is the *class struggle*? It is a struggle of one part of the people against the other; a struggle waged by the masses of those who have no rights, are oppressed and engage in toil, against the privileged, the oppressors and drones; a struggle of the wage-labourers, or proletarians, against the property-owners, or bourgeoisie. This great struggle has always gone on and is now going on in the Russian coun-

tryside too, although not everyone sees it, and although not everyone understands its significance. In the period of serfdom the entire mass of the peasants fought against their oppressors, the landlord class, which was protected, defended, and supported by the tsarist government. The peasants were then unable to unite and were utterly crushed by ignorance; they had no helpers and brothers among the urban workers; nevertheless they fought as best they could. They were not deterred by the brutal persecution of the government, were not daunted by punitive measures and bullets, and did not believe the priests, who tried with all their might to prove that serfdom was approved by Holy Scripture and sanctioned by God (that is what Metropolitan Philaret actually said!); the peasants rose in rebellion, now in one place and now in another, and at last the government yielded, fearing a general uprising of all the peasants.

Serfdom was abolished, but not altogether. The peasants remained without rights, remained an inferior, tax-paying, "black" social-estate, remained in the clutches of serf bondage. Unrest among the peasants continues; they continue to seek complete, real freedom. Meanwhile, after the abolition of serfdom, a new class struggle arose, the *struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie*. Wealth increased, railways and big factories were built, the towns grew still more populous and more luxurious, but all this wealth was appropriated by a very few, while the people became poorer all the time, became ruined, starved, and had to leave their homes to go and hire themselves out for wages. The urban workers started a great, new struggle of all the poor against all the rich. The urban workers have united in the *Social-Democratic Party* and are waging their struggle stubbornly, staunchly, and solidly, advancing step by step, preparing for the great final struggle, and demanding political liberty for all the people.

At last the peasants, too, lost patience. In the spring of last year, 1902, the peasants of Poltava, Kharkov, and other gubernias rose against the landlords, broke open their barns, shared the contents among themselves, distributed among the starving the grain that had been sown and reaped by the peasants but appropriated by the landlords, and demanded a new division of the land. The peasants could no longer

bear the endless oppression, and began to seek a better lot. The peasants decided—and quite rightly so—that it was better to die fighting the oppressors than to die of starvation without a struggle. But they did not win a better lot for themselves. The tsarist government proclaimed them common rioters and robbers (for having taken from the robber landlords grain which the peasants themselves had sown and reaped!); the tsarist government sent troops against them as against an enemy, and the peasants were defeated; peasants were shot down, many were killed; peasants were brutally flogged, many were flogged to death; they were tortured worse than the Turks torture their enemies, the Christians. The tsar's envoys, the governors, were the worst torturers, real executioners. The soldiers raped the wives and daughters of the peasants. And after all this, the peasants were tried by a court of officials, were compelled to pay the landlords 800,000 rubles, and at the trials, those infamous secret trials, trials in a torture chamber, counsels for the defence were not even allowed to tell how the peasants had been ill-treated and tortured by the tsar's envoys, Governor Obolensky, and the other servants of the tsar.

The peasants fought in a just cause. The Russian working class will always honour the memory of the martyrs who were shot down and flogged to death by the tsar's servants. Those martyrs fought for the freedom and happiness of the working people. The peasants were defeated, but they will rise again and again, and will not lose heart because of this first defeat. The class-conscious workers will do all in their power to inform the largest possible number of working people in town and country about the peasants' struggle and to help them prepare for another and more successful struggle. The class-conscious workers will do all in their power to help the peasants *clearly to understand why the first peasant uprising* (1902) *was crushed and what must be done in order to secure victory for the peasants and workers and not for the tsar's servants.*

The peasant uprising was crushed because it was an uprising of an ignorant and politically unconscious mass, an uprising without clear and definite *political* demands, i.e., without the demand for a change in the *political* order. The

peasant uprising was crushed because *no preparations had been made* for it. The peasant uprising was crushed because the rural proletarians had not yet allied themselves with the urban proletarians. Such were the three causes of the peasants' first failure. To be successful an insurrection must have a conscious political aim; preparations must be made for it in advance; it must spread throughout the whole of Russia and be in alliance with the urban workers. And every step in the struggle of the urban workers, every Social-Democratic pamphlet or newspaper, every speech made by a class-conscious worker to the rural proletarians will bring nearer the time when the insurrection will be repeated and end in victory.

The peasants rose without a conscious political aim, simply because they could not bear their sufferings any longer, because they did not want to die like dumb brutes, without resistance. The peasants had suffered so much from every manner of robbery, oppression, and torment that they could not but believe, if only for a moment, the vague rumours about the tsar's mercy; they could not but believe that every sensible man would regard it as just that grain should be distributed among starving people, among those who had worked all their lives for others, had sown and reaped, and were now dying of starvation, while the "gentry's" barns were full to bursting. The peasants seemed to have forgotten that the best land and all the factories had been seized by the rich, by the landlords and the bourgeoisie, precisely for the purpose of compelling the starving people to work for them. The peasants forgot that not only do the priests preach sermons in defence of the rich class, but the entire tsarist government, with its host of bureaucrats and soldiers, rises in its defence. The tsarist government reminded the peasants of that. With brutal cruelty, the tsarist government showed the peasants what state power is, whose servant and whose protector it is. We need only remind the peasants of this lesson more often, and they will easily understand why it is necessary to *change the political order*, and why we need *political liberty*. Peasant uprisings will have a conscious political aim when that is understood by larger and larger numbers of people, when every peasant who can read and write and who thinks for himself becomes

familiar with the *three principal demands* which must be fought for first of all. The first demand—the convocation of *a national assembly of deputies for the purpose of establishing popular elective government in Russia in place of the autocratic government*. The second demand—*freedom for all to publish all kinds of books and newspapers*. The third demand—*recognition by law of the peasants' complete equality of rights with the other social-estates, and the institution of elected peasant committees with the primary object of abolishing all forms of serf bondage*. Such are the chief and fundamental demands of the Social-Democrats, and it will now be very easy for the peasants to understand them, to understand *what to begin with* in the struggle for the people's freedom. When the peasants understand these demands, they will also understand that long, persistent and persevering *preparations* must be made in advance for the struggle, not in isolation, but together with the workers in the towns—the Social-Democrats.

Let every class-conscious worker and peasant rally around himself the most intelligent, reliable, and fearless comrades. Let him strive to explain to them what the Social-Democrats want, so that every one of them may understand the struggle that must be waged and the demands that must be advanced. Let the class-conscious Social-Democrats begin gradually, cautiously, but unswervingly, to teach the peasants the doctrine of Social-Democracy, give them Social-Democratic pamphlets to read and explain those pamphlets at small gatherings of trustworthy people.

But the doctrine of Social-Democracy must not be taught from books alone; every instance, every case of oppression and injustice we see around us must be used for this purpose. The Social-Democratic doctrine is one of struggle against all oppression, all robbery, all injustice. Only he who knows the causes of oppression and who *all his life fights every case of oppression* is a real Social-Democrat. How can this be done? When they gather in their town or village, class-conscious Social-Democrats must themselves decide how it must be done to the best advantage of the entire working class. To show how it must be done I shall cite one or two examples. Let us suppose that a Social-Democratic worker has come on a visit to his village, or that some urban Social-Democratic

worker has come to any village. The entire village is in the clutches of the neighbouring landlord, like a fly in a spider's web; it has always been in this state of bondage and cannot escape from it. The worker must at once pick out the most sensible, intelligent, and trustworthy peasants, those who are seeking justice and will not be frightened by the first police agent who comes along, and explain to them the causes of this hopeless bondage, tell them how the landlords cheated the peasants and robbed them with the aid of the committees of nobles, tell them how strong the rich are and how they are supported by the tsarist government, and also tell them about the demands of the Social-Democratic workers. When the peasants understand all these simple things they must all put their heads together and discuss whether it is possible to put up united resistance to the landlord, whether it is possible to put forward the first and principal demands (in the same way as the urban workers present their demands to the factory owners). If the landlord holds one big village, or several villages, in bondage, the best thing would be to obtain, through trustworthy people, a *leaflet* from the nearest Social-Democratic committee. In the leaflet the Social-Democratic committee will correctly describe, from the very beginning, the bondage the peasants suffer from and formulate their most immediate demands (reduction of rent paid for land, proper rates, and not half-rates, of pay for winter hire, or less persecution for damage done by straying cattle or various other demands). From such a leaflet all peasants who can read and write will get to know very well what the issue is, and those who cannot read will have it explained to them. The peasants will then clearly see that the Social-Democrats support them, that the Social-Democrats condemn all robbery. The peasants will then begin to understand what relief, if only slight, but relief for all that, can be obtained now, at once, if all stand together, and what big improvements for the whole country they must seek to obtain by a great struggle in conjunction with the Social-Democratic workers in the towns. The peasants will then prepare more and more for that great struggle; they will learn how to find trustworthy people and how to stand unitedly for their demands. Perhaps they may sometimes succeed in organising a strike, as the urban workers do.

True, this is more difficult in the countryside than in the towns, but it is sometimes possible for all that; in other countries there have been successful strikes, for instance, in the busy seasons, when the landlords and rich farmers are badly in need of hands. If the rural poor are prepared to strike, if an agreement has long been reached about the general demands, if those demands have been explained in leaflets, or properly explained at meetings, all will stand together, and the landlord will have to yield, or at least put some curb on his greed. If the strike is unanimous and is called during the busy season, the landlord, and even the authorities with their troops, will find it hard to do anything—time will be lost, the landlord will be threatened with ruin, and he will soon become more tractable. Of course, strikes are a new thing, and new things do not come off well at first. The urban workers, too, did not know how to fight unitedly at first; they did not know what demands to put forward in common; they simply went out to smash machinery and wreck a factory. But now the workers have learned to conduct a united struggle. Every new job must first be learned. The workers now understand that immediate relief can be obtained only if they stand together; meanwhile, the people are getting used to offering united resistance and are preparing more and more for the great and decisive struggle. Similarly, the peasants will learn to stand up to the worst robbers, to be united in their demands for some measure of relief and to prepare gradually, persistently, and everywhere for the great battle for freedom. The number of class-conscious workers and peasants will constantly grow, and the unions of rural Social-Democrats will become stronger and stronger; every case of bondage to the landlord, of extortion by the priest, of police brutality and bureaucratic oppression, will increasingly serve to open the eyes of the people, accustom them to putting up united resistance and to the idea that it is necessary to change the political order by force.

At the very beginning of this pamphlet we said that at the present time the urban workers come out into the streets and squares and publicly demand *freedom*, that they inscribe on their banners and cry out: "Down with the autocracy!" The day will soon come when the urban workers will rise not

merely to march shouting through the streets, but for the great and final struggle; when the workers will declare as one man: "We shall win freedom, or die in the fight!"; when the places of the hundreds who have been killed, fallen in the fight will be taken by thousands of fresh and still more resolute fighters. And the peasants, too, will then rise all over Russia and go to the aid of the urban workers, will fight to the end for the freedom of the workers and peasants. The tsar's hordes will be unable to withstand that onslaught. Victory will go to the working people, and the working class will march along the wide, spacious road to the liberation of all working people from any kind of oppression. The working class will use its freedom to fight for socialism!

THE PROGRAMME OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY PROPOSED BY THE NEWSPAPER *ISKRA* IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE MAGAZINE *ZARYA*

We have already explained what a programme is, why one is needed, and why the Social-Democratic Party is the only party that comes out with a clear and definite programme. A programme can be finally adopted only by the congress of our Party, i.e., the assembly of representatives of all Party workers. Preparations for such a congress are now being made by the Organising Committee. But very many committees of our Party have already openly declared their agreement with *Iskra*, and their recognition of *Iskra* as the leading newspaper. Therefore, prior to the congress our draft (proposed) programme can fully serve as a precise indication of what the Social-Democrats want, and we consider it necessary to give that draft in full as an appendix to our pamphlet.

Of course, without an explanation not every worker will understand everything that is said in the programme. Many great socialists worked to create the doctrine of Social-Democracy, which was completed by Marx and Engels; the workers of all countries went through a great deal to acquire the experience that we want to utilise and make the basis of

our programme. Therefore the workers must learn the teachings of Social-Democracy in order to understand every word of the programme, *their* programme, *their* banner of the struggle. And the workers are learning and understanding the Social-Democratic programme with particular ease because that programme speaks of what every thinking worker has seen and experienced. Let nobody be deterred by the "difficulty" of understanding the programme all at once: the more every worker reads and thinks, the more experience he acquires in the struggle, the more fully will he understand it. But let everybody think over and discuss the *whole* programme of the Social-Democrats; let everybody constantly keep in mind *all that the Social-Democrats want, and what they think about the emancipation* of all working people. The Social-Democrats want everybody to know clearly and precisely the truth, the whole truth, about what the Social-Democratic Party is.

We cannot here explain the whole programme in detail. A separate pamphlet would be needed for that. We shall merely indicate briefly what the programme says, and advise the reader to get hold of two pamphlets to use as aids. One pamphlet is by the German Social-Democrat Karl Kautsky, and its title is *The Erfurt Programme*. It has been translated into Russian. The other pamphlet is by the Russian Social-Democrat L. Martov, and its title is *The Workers' Cause in Russia*. These pamphlets will help the reader to understand the whole of our programme.

Let us now indicate each part of our programme by a separate letter (see the programme below) and show what is spoken about in each part.

A) At the very beginning it says that the proletariat all over the world is fighting for its emancipation, and the Russian proletariat is only a detachment in the world army of the working class of all countries.

B) It then goes on to explain the bourgeois order of things in nearly all countries in the world, including Russia: how the majority of the population, working for the landowners and capitalists, live in poverty and want; how the small artisans and peasants are being ruined while the big factories grow bigger; how capital crushes the worker and also his wife and children; how the conditions of the working

class are growing worse and worse and unemployment and want are increasing.

C) It then speaks of the union of the workers, of their struggle, of the great aim of that struggle: to liberate all the oppressed and completely abolish all oppression of the poor by the rich. This part also explains why the working class is growing stronger and stronger, and why it will certainly defeat all its enemies, all those who defend the bourgeoisie.

D) Then it explains why Social-Democratic parties have been formed in all countries, how they help the working class to wage its struggle, unite and guide the workers, enlighten them and prepare them for the great struggle.

E) Further, it explains why the conditions of the people in Russia are even worse than in other countries, what a great evil the tsarist autocracy is, and why we must first of all overthrow that autocracy and establish popular, elective government in Russia.

F) What improvements must elective government bring the whole people? We explain that in our pamphlet, and it is also explained in the programme.

G) Then the programme indicates what improvements for the whole of the working class we must strive to immediately achieve in order to make life easier for it and enable it to fight more freely for socialism.

H) Special reference is made in the programme to those improvements which we must first of all strive to achieve for all the peasants so as to enable the rural poor to wage the class struggle more easily and freely against both the rural bourgeoisie and the entire Russian bourgeoisie.

I) Lastly, the Social-Democratic Party warns the people not to believe any police or bureaucratic promises or honeyed words, but to fight firmly for the immediate convocation of a free national assembly of deputies.

LES BEAUX ESPRITS SE RENCONTRENT

(WHICH MAY BE INTERPRETED ROUGHLY AS: BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER)

In June 1902 the much-vaunted minimum agrarian programme of our Socialist-Revolutionaries (co-operatives and socialisation) enriched Russian socialist thought and the Russian revolutionary movement. The German book, *Socialism and Agriculture*, by Eduard David, the well-known opportunist (and Bernsteinite), appeared in February 1903. There can evidently be no question of the consequent product of opportunist thought including the original of the earlier "Socialist-Revolutionary" mental gymnastics. If that is so, how is one to explain the amazing, the striking similarity and even the identity of principles in the programme of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries and that of the German opportunists? Is it not perhaps a case of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* being the "original", while David's "fundamental" (according to a review in *Russkiye Vedomosti*) work is the copy? Two basic ideas, and, correspondingly, two main points in the programme, run through the pattern of David's "work". He glorifies agricultural co-operatives, expecting all possible blessings from them, demanding that the Social-Democrats help develop them, and (just like our Socialist-Revolutionaries) failing to see the bourgeois nature of these alliances between petty proprietors and agrarian capitalists, big and small. David demands the conversion of large farms into small ones, and waxes enthusiastic over the profitableness and efficiency, the thrifty management and productivity of the farms "*des Arbeitsbauern*"—literally, "of the working peasant"—emphasising the society's supreme right to landed property

and the right of these same small "working peasants" to the use of the land. Without any doubt, this German opportunist has plagiarised from the Russian "Socialist-Revolutionaries"! Of course neither the German petty-bourgeois opportunist nor the Russian petty-bourgeois, the "Socialist-Revolutionaries", see anything at all of the petty-bourgeois nature of the "working peasant" in present-day society, his intermediate, transitional position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, his ambition to "make his way in the world" (i.e., become a full-fledged bourgeois) through frugality, diligence, semi-starvation, and excessive labour, and his striving to exploit the labour of rural "workers".

Yes, indeed, *les beaux esprits se rencontrent*, and herein lies the key to a puzzle which at first glance seems so difficult: to determine which is the copy and which the original. Ideas expressing the needs, interests, strivings, and aspirations of a certain class are in the very air, and their identity cannot be concealed by any differences of garb, by any variations of opportunist or "Socialist-Revolutionary" phraseology. Murder will out.

In all the countries of Europe, Russia included, the petty bourgeoisie is steadily being "thrust to the wall" and falling into decline, a process which does not always express itself in the outright and direct elimination of the petty bourgeoisie, but in most cases leads to a reduction of its role in economic life, to deterioration of its living conditions, and greater insecurity. Everything militates against it: technical progress in big industrial and agricultural enterprises, the development of the big shops, the growth of manufacturers' associations, cartels and trusts, and even the growth of consumers' societies and municipal enterprises. And, while the petty bourgeoisie is being "thrust to the wall" in the sphere of agriculture and industry, a "new middle social-estate", as the Germans say, is emerging and developing, a new stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, who are also finding life in capitalist society harder and harder and for the most part regard this society from the viewpoint of the small producer. It is quite natural that this must inevitably lead to widespread dissemination and constant revival of petty-bourgeois ideas and doctrines in the most varied forms. It is quite natural that the Russian "Socialist-

Revolutionaries", who are wholly in thrall to the ideas of petty-bourgeois Narodism, inevitably turn out to be "birds of a feather" with the European reformists and opportunists, who, when they would be consistent, inevitably arrive at Proudhonism. And this was the very term that Kautsky quite justly used to describe David's programme and standpoint.

We have said, "when they would be consistent", and this brings us to an essential feature—one that distinguishes the present-day Socialist-Revolutionaries from both the old Russian Narodniks and at least some of the European opportunists—which can only be called adventurism. Adventurism is not concerned with consistency, but endeavours to grasp at the fleeting opportunity and make use of the battle of ideas in order to justify and preserve its ideological poverty. The old Russian Narodniks wanted to be consistent and they upheld, preached, and professed their own, distinct programme. David wants to be consistent and rises up resolutely against the whole "Marxist agrarian theory", emphatically preaches and professes the conversion of large farms into small farms, and, at least, has the courage of his convictions, and is not afraid to come out openly as the champion of small-scale farming. Our Socialist-Revolutionaries are, to put it as mildly as possible, far more "prudent". They never rise up resolutely against Marx—God forbid! On the contrary, they come forward with quotations plucked at random from Marx and Engels, assuring us with tears in their eyes that they agree with the latter *almost* in everything. They do not come out against Liebknecht and Kautsky—on the contrary, they are profoundly and sincerely convinced that Liebknecht was a Socialist-Revolutionary—in very truth, a Socialist-Revolutionary. They do not come forward as the champions of small-scale farming on principle—on the contrary, they are heart and soul for the "socialisation of the land", and it is only by accident that they sometimes blurt out that this all-embracing Russo-Dutch socialisation can mean anything and everything: either the transference of the land to society, to be used by the working people (exactly as David puts it!), or simply the transference of the land to the peasants, or, finally, quite "simply" the addition of plots of land gratis....

Our Socialist-Revolutionaries' "prudent" methods are so well known to us that we shall take the liberty, in conclusion, of giving them a piece of good advice.

You have obviously landed in a rather awkward situation, gentlemen. All along you have been assuring us that you have nothing in common either with the opportunism and reformism in the West, or with the petty-bourgeois sympathies for the "profitable" small-scale farming—and suddenly a book by an avowed opportunist and champion of small-scale farming appears, in which your "Socialist-Revolutionary" programme is "copied" with touching scrupulosity! An awkward situation indeed. But don't let it distress you: there is an easy way out. All you have to do is ... to quote Kautsky.

Nor should the reader think that this is a slip on our part. Nothing of the sort. Kautsky comes out against the Proudhonist David—*for this very reason* the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who are in agreement with David, have to quote Kautsky just as they once quoted Engels. Take No. 14 of *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* and there you will read on page seven that the Social-Democrats' "change of tactics" with regard to the peasantry "was legitimised" (!!) by one of the fathers of scientific socialism, by Engels—Engels, who took up arms against the French comrades that had changed their tactics! How can one prove this pettifogging statement? Quite simply. First, one must "quote" Engels' words that he is absolutely on the side of the small peasant (and say nothing about the fact that this very thought is expressed in the programme of the Russian Social-Democrats, which calls on all the working people to come over to the side of the proletariat!). Secondly, one must say with regard to the "concessions to Bernsteinism" made by the French comrades who changed their tactics: "*See Engels' superb criticism of these concessions*." It is this selfsame tried method that we advise the Socialist-Revolutionary gentlemen to use now too. David's book has legitimised the change in tactics on the agrarian question. One cannot but admit now that, with a programme of "co-operatives and socialisation", it is possible to remain in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party; only dogmatists and the orthodox can fail to see this. But, on the other hand, it must be admit-

ted that David, unlike the noble Socialist-Revolutionaries, makes some concessions to Bernsteinism. "*See Kautsky's superb criticism of these concessions.*"

Indeed, gentlemen, try it. Perhaps something will come of it once more.

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REPLY TO CRITICISM OF OUR DRAFT PROGRAMME

Comrade X[127] rejects the third and fourth points of the agrarian section of our draft and submits his own draft, in which all the points of the agrarian programme, as well as the preamble to it, are revised. We shall first examine Comrade X's objections to our draft, and then his own draft.

Against the third point, Comrade X advances the objection that the confiscation of the monasterial (and we would willingly add: church) estates and the royal demesnes as proposed by us would mean that the capitalists would grab the lands for next to nothing. It would be precisely those who plunder the peasants, he says, who would buy up these lands on the money they had plundered. To this we must remark that, in speaking about the sale of the confiscated estates, Comrade X draws an arbitrary conclusion that our programme does not contain. Confiscation means alienation of property without compensation. It is only of such alienation that our draft speaks. Our draft programme says nothing as to whether these lands are to be sold, and if so to whom and how, in what manner and on what terms. We are not binding ourselves, but reserve judgement as to the most expedient form in which to dispose of the confiscated properties when they are confiscated, when all the social and political conditions of such confiscation are clear. In this respect Comrade X's draft differs from our draft in demanding, not only confiscation, but the transference of the confiscated lands "to the democratic state for their most advantageous utilisation by the population". Thus, Comrade X excludes one of the forms of the disposal of what has been confiscated (sale) and does not suggest any definite form (since it remains unclear just what constitutes or

will constitute or should constitute the "most advantageous" utilisation, and just what classes of the "population" will receive the right to this utilisation and on what terms). Hence, Comrade X fails in any case to bring complete definiteness into the question of how the confiscated lands should be disposed of (nor can this be determined in advance), while he wrongly excludes their sale as one of the methods. It would be wrong to say that, under all circumstances and at all times, the Social-Democrats will be opposed to the sale of the land. In a police-controlled class state, even if it is a constitutional state, the class of property-owners may not infrequently be a far stauncher pillar of democracy than the class of tenant farmers dependent on that state. That is on the one hand. On the other hand, our draft makes for greater provision than Comrade X's draft does against confiscated lands being turned into "gifts to the capitalists" (insofar as any provision against this can be spoken of in general in the wording of a programme). And indeed, let us imagine the worst: let us imagine that, despite all its efforts, the workers' party will be unable to curb the capitalists' wilfulness and greed.* In that case, Comrade X's formulation affords free scope for the "most advantageous" utilisation of the confiscated lands by the capitalist class of the "population". On the contrary, our formulation, while it does not link up the basic demand with the form of its realisation, nevertheless envisages a strictly definite application of sums received from such realisation. When Comrade X says that "the Social-Democratic Party cannot undertake in advance to decide in what concrete form the popular representative body will utilise the land which it will have at its command", he is confusing two different things: the *method* of realising (in other words: "the form of utilising") this land and the *application* of the sums received from this realisation. By leaving the question of the application of these-sums absolutely indefinite and tying his hands, even in part, in the question of the method of realisation, Comrade X introduces a double impairment into our draft.

In our opinion, Comrade X is just as wrong when he presents the following objection to us: "It is likewise impos-

* And if we are able to curb them, then the sale of the land will not turn into plundering and gifts to the capitalists.

sible to recover land redemption payments from the nobles, since many of them have squandered them all." As a matter of fact, this is no objection at all, since we do not even propose that these sums should simply be "recovered", but propose a special tax. In his article Comrade X himself cites facts showing that the big landowners "cut off" a particularly large share of the peasants' land for themselves, in some cases seizing as much as *three-quarters* of the land. Hence the demand for a special tax on the big landed nobility in particular is quite natural. It is likewise quite natural to designate funds thus obtained for the special use we demand, for *in addition* to the general task of returning to the people all revenues received by the state (a task which can be fully accomplished only under socialism), liberated Russia will inescapably be faced with the special and most pressing task of raising the peasants' standard of living, rendering serious aid to the poverty-stricken and hungry masses, whose ranks are swelling so extremely rapidly under our autocratic system.

Let us pass to the fourth point, which Comrade X rejects in full, although he analyses only the first part of this point—about the cut-off lands—without any mention of the second part, envisaging eradication of the remnants of serfdom, which vary in different parts of the country. We shall begin with a formal remark by the author: he sees a contradiction in the fact that we demand abolition of the social-estates and the establishment of peasant, i.e., social-estate, committees. In fact, the contradiction is only a seeming one: the abolition of the social-estates requires a "dictatorship" of the lowest, oppressed social-estate, just as the abolition of classes in general, including the class of proletarians, requires the dictatorship of the proletariat. The object of our entire agrarian programme is the eradication of feudal and social-estate traditions in the sphere of agrarian relations, and to bring that about the only possible appeal can be to the lowest social-estate, to those who are oppressed by these remnants of the serf-owning system.

The author's principal objection boils down to the following: "it is hardly provable" that the cut-off lands are the principal basis of the labour-rent system, since the size of

these cut-off lands depended on whether the serf peasants were quit-rent peasants, and hence had much land, or corvée peasants, and hence had little land. "The size of the cut-off lands and their importance depend on a combination of historical conditions"; for instance, the percentage of cut-off lands is negligible on the small estates in Volsk Uyezd, while on the large estates it is enormous. This is how the author reasons, without noticing that he is getting away from the point. The cut-off lands were indubitably distributed most unevenly, depending on a combination of the most varied conditions (including a condition such as the existence of the corvée system or quit-rent under the serf-owning system). But what does that prove? Is not the labour-rent system also most unevenly distributed? Is not the existence of this system also determined by a combination of the most varied historical conditions? The author undertakes to disprove the *connection* between the cut-off lands and the labour-rent system, but talks only about the reasons for the cut-off lands and the differences in their size, without referring by as much as a single word to this connection. Only once does the author make an assertion which approaches immediately the substance of his thesis, and yet it is in this very assertion that he is *absolutely wrong*. "Consequently," he says, summing up his-arguments about the influence of quit-rent or the corvée system, "where the peasants were corvée peasants (*mainly in the central agricultural area*), *these cut-off lands will be negligible*, whereas in those places where they were quit-rent peasants, all of the landlords' land may consist of 'cut-off lands'." The words italicised by us contain a blunder which destroys the author's whole line of argument. It is precisely in the central agricultural area, this main centre of the labour-rent system and all sorts of remnants of serfdom, that the cut-off lands are not "negligible" but enormous, much greater than in the non-black-earth zone, where quit-rent predominates over corvée. Here are data on this question, received from a comrade who is a professional statistician. He has compared data given in the *Military-Statistical Abstract* on the holdings of landlords' peasants prior to the Reform with the figures showing land holdings in 1878, thus determining the size of the cut-off lands in each gubernia. It appeared that in nine gubernias

of the non-black-earth zone* the landlords' peasants held 10,421,000 dessiatines prior to the Reform, whereas only 9,746,000 dessiatines were left to them in 1878, i.e., 675,000 dessiatines, or 6.5 per cent of the land, were cut off, the average per gubernia being 72,800 dessiatines. On the other hand, in fourteen black-earth gubernias** the peasants held 12,795,000 dessiatines and were left with 9,996,000 dessiatines, i.e., 2,799,000 dessiatines, or 21.9 per cent, were cut off, an average of 199,100 dessiatines per gubernia. The only exception was the third area, in the steppes, where in five gubernias*** the peasants held 2,203,000 dessiatines and they were left with 1,580,000, i.e., 623,000, or 28.3 per cent, were cut off, the average per gubernia being 124,600 dessiatines.**** This area is an exception, since here the capitalist system predominates over the labour-rent system, while the percentage of cut-off lands is the highest here. But this exception only goes to prove the general rule, for here the influence of the cut-off lands has been paralysed by such important circumstances as the peasants possessing the largest allotments, despite the cut-off lands, and the greatest amount of free land available here for renting. Thus, the author's attempt to cast doubt on the existence of a connection between the cut-off lands and the labour-rent system is quite unsuccessful. *On the whole*, there is no doubt that the centre of the labour-rent system in Russia (the central black-earth

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* Pskov, Novgorod, Tver, Moscow, Vladimir, Smolensk, Kaluga, Yaroslavl, and Kostroma gubernias.

** Orel, Tula, Ryazan, Kursk, Voronezh, Tambov, Nizhni-Novgorod, Simbirsk, Kazan, Penza, Saratov, Chernigov, Kharkov, and Poltava gubernias (37 per cent of the land cut off).

*** Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Taurida, Don (approximate figure), and Samara gubernias.

**** Comparing these figures on the cut-off lands in three areas with the figures on the proportion of corvée peasants to the total number of peasants (according to the data of the Drafting Commissions: see Vol. 32, p. 686 of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, the article "The Peasants"), we get the following relationship. Non-black-earth area (9 gubernias): cut-off lands—6.5 per cent; corvée peasants—43.9 per cent (average for 9 gubernias). Central black-earth area (14 gubernias): cut-off lands—21.9 per cent, corvée peasants—76 per cent. Steppe area (5 gubernias): cut-off lands—28.3 per cent; corvée peasants—95.3 per cent. Hence the relationship is just the opposite to what Comrade X wants to make out.

area) is at the same time the centre of the cut-off lands. We emphasise "on the whole" in reply to the following question put by the author. Against the words in our programme about restitution of land which has been cut off and is now used as a means of bondage, the author has put in brackets the following question: "but what about that which is not used as such?" Our reply to him is that the programme is not a legislative bill on the restitution of the cut-off lands. We define and explain the general significance of the cut-off lands, but do not speak of individual cases. Is it really still possible, after all the Narodnik literature on the position of the post-Reform peasantry, to have any doubts about the fact that on the whole the cut-off lands serve as a means of serf bondage? Is it really possible, we ask further, to deny the connection between the cut-off lands and the labour-rent system, when this connection follows from the most elementary concepts on the post-Reform economy of Russia? The labour-rent system is a combination of the corvée system and capitalism, of the "old regime" and "modern" economy, of the system of exploitation through land allotment and the system of exploitation through separation from the land. What could be a more glaring example of present-day corvée than a system of farming based on labour rendered in return for the use of cut-off lands (a system described *as such*, as a special system, and not something incidental, in Narodnik literature in the good old days, when nobody had even heard of the hackneyed and narrow-minded Marxists)? Is it really possible to believe that today the peasant is tied down to the land *only* because there is no law granting freedom of movement, and not because of the existence, in addition to that (*and partly at the root of that*), of bondage service for the use of the cut-off lands?

After failing to prove in any way that there is any basis for his doubting the existence of a connection between the cut-off lands and bondage, the author continues his argument as follows: restitution of the cut-off lands is the allotting of small plots of land based not so much on the requirements of peasant farming as on historical "tradition". Like any allotment of an insufficient quantity of land (there can be no question of an adequate allotment), it will not destroy bondage but will rather create it, since it will cause renting of

land that is lacking, renting because of need, subsistence tenancy, and will consequently be a reactionary measure.

Here too the argument misses the mark, for the agrarian section of our programme does not at all "promise" to do away with all want in general (this promise is given only in the general socialist section of the programme), but promises only to eradicate (at least in part) the remnants of the serf-owning system. Our programme refers, not to allotment of all sorts of small plots of land in general, but specifically to doing away with at least one of the already existing forms of bondage. The author has departed from the trend of thought underlying our programme, and arbitrarily and incorrectly attributed another meaning to it. Indeed, just examine his line of reasoning. He rejects (and in this respect, he is of course right) the interpretation of cut-off lands as implying just strips of land belonging to different owners, and says: "If the cut-off lands are to constitute additional allotment land, it is necessary to see whether there are enough cut-off lands to remove relationships entailing bondage, since from this standpoint bondage relationships are a result of land-hunger." Absolutely nowhere in our programme is the assertion made that there are enough cut-off lands to do away with bondage. Only the socialist revolution can do away with all bondage, whereas in the agrarian programme we take our stand on the ground of bourgeois relationships and demand certain measures "with a view to eradicating" (we do not even say that this can be complete eradication) the remnants of the serf-owning system. The whole essence of our agrarian programme is that the rural proletariat must fight together with the rich peasantry for the abolition of the remnants of serfdom, for the cut-off lands. Anyone who examines this proposition closely will grasp the incorrectness, the *irrelevance* and illogicality of an objection such as: why *only* the cut-off lands, if that is not enough? Because *together with the rich peasantry* the proletariat *will be unable* to go, and *must not go*, beyond the abolition of serfdom, beyond restitution of the cut-off lands, etc. *Beyond that*, the proletariat in general and the rural proletariat in particular *will march alone*; not together with the "peasantry", not together with the rich peasant, but *against him*. The reason we do not go beyond the demand for the cut-off

lands is not because we do not wish the peasant well or because we are afraid of scaring the bourgeoisie, but because we do not want the rural proletarian to help the rich peasant *more than is necessary*, more than is essential to the proletariat. Both the proletarian and the rich peasant suffer from serf bondage; against *this* bondage they can and should go together; but against the *other* forms of bondage, the proletariat will go alone. Hence the distinction made in our programme between serf bondage and all other bondage necessarily follows from the *strict observance of the class interests of the proletariat*. We would be running counter to these interests and would be abandoning the class standpoint of the proletariat, if we allowed our programme to state that the "peasantry" (i.e., the rich plus the poor) will go together beyond eradication of the remnants of serfdom; we would thereby be *putting a brake* on this absolutely essential, and, from the standpoint of the Social-Democrat, the most important, process of the final *separation of the rural proletariat* from the land-holding peasantry, the process of the development of proletarian class-consciousness in the countryside. When the Narodniks, people of the old faith, and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, people without faith or convictions of any kind, shrug their shoulders at our agrarian programme, that is because they (for instance, Mr. Rudin and Co.) have no idea of the real economic system in our countryside and its evolution, have no idea of the bourgeois relations which have been developing and have almost taken shape within the village commune, or of the strength of the bourgeois peasantry. They approach our agrarian programme with the old Narodnik prejudices, or more frequently with fragments of these prejudices, and begin to criticise individual points or their wording, without even comprehending the aim of our agrarian programme or the social and economic relations it has in view. When they are told that our agrarian programme does not refer to the struggle against the bourgeois system, but to the evolution of bourgeois relations in the countryside, they merely rub their eyes in amazement, unaware (because of their characteristic indifference to theory) that their perplexity is simply an echo of the struggle between the Narodnik and the Marxist world outlook.

To the Marxist who undertakes to draft an agrarian programme, the question of the remnants of serfdom in the bourgeois and capitalistically developing Russian countryside is one that has already been settled, and it is only owing to their utter lack of principle that the Socialist-Revolutionaries are unable to see that if they want to offer any *material* criticism they must contrapose to our solution of this question something that is at least coherent and integral. To the Marxist the problem is simply to avoid either of two extremes: on the one hand, not to fall into the error of those who say that, from the standpoint of the proletariat, we are in no way concerned with any immediate and temporary non-proletarian tasks, and on the other, not to allow the proletariat's co-operation in the attainment of the immediate democratic tasks to dim its class-consciousness and its class distinctiveness. In the sphere of agrarian relationships proper, this task reduces itself to the following: the bringing forward of a slogan of such an agrarian reform on the basis of the existing society as would most completely sweep away the remnants of serfdom and most rapidly single out the rural proletariat from the undifferentiated mass of the peasantry as a whole.

We believe that our programme has coped with this task. Moreover, we are not at all put out by Comrade X's question: what should we do if the peasant committees demand not the cut-off lands but all the land? We ourselves demand all the land, only, of course, not "with a view to eradicating the remnants of the serf-owning system" (to which end the agrarian *section* of our programme limits itself), but with a view to the socialist revolution. And it is precisely this goal that we are always and under all circumstances tirelessly pointing out to the "rural poor". There is no grosser error than to think that the Social-Democrat can go to the villages only with the agrarian section of his programme, that he can even for a moment furl his socialist banner. If the demand for all the land is a demand for the nationalisation of the land or its transference to the land-holding peasants of today, we shall appraise this demand from the standpoint of the proletariat's interests, taking all factors into consideration: we cannot, for instance, say in advance whether, when the revolution awakens them to political life, our land-holding

peasants will come out as a democratic revolutionary party or as a party of Order. We must draft our programme so as to be prepared even for the worst, and if the best combinations ensue, then that will only facilitate our work and give it a new stimulus.

It remains for us to deal with the following argument by Comrade X on the question under discussion. "To this," he writes concerning his thesis that the allotment of the cut-off lands will strengthen subsistence farming tenancy, "to this, exception might be taken on the ground that the allotment of the cut-off lands is important as a means of abolishing bondage forms of renting *these* lands, and not as a means of increasing and strengthening small subsistence farming. However, it is easy to see that there is a logical contradiction in this objection. The allotment of small plots of land is the *allotment of land in insufficient quantity* for the conduct of progressive farming but sufficient to strengthen subsistence farming. Hence, subsistence farming is strengthened by the allotment of an insufficient quantity of land. But as to whether bondage forms of renting will be abolished by this—that still remains to be proved. We have shown that they will become stronger because of the increase in the number of petty proprietors—competitors in renting the landlord's land."

We have quoted this argument of Comrade X's in full so as to make it easier for the reader to judge *where* the "logical contradiction" actually lies. As a general rule the peasants are at present using the cut-off lands on terms of serf bondage. Upon the restitution of the cut-off lands, the peasants will use them as free owners. Does it really "still remain to be proved" that this restitution *will abolish* the serf bondage resulting from these cut-off lands? It is a matter of special plots of land that have already given rise to a special form of bondage, but the author substitutes for this particular concept the general category of "an insufficient quantity of land"! This means skipping the question. It means assuming that at present the cut-off lands do not engender any special form of bondage: in which case their restitution would really be *simply* the "allotment of an insufficient quantity of land", and then we would really be unable to support this measure. But it is perfectly obvious to everyone that this is not the case.

Further. The author should not confuse serf bondage (the labour-rent *system* of farming) engendered by the cut-off lands with subsistence farming tenancy, with renting as a result of need in general. The latter form of renting exists in all European countries: under the capitalist system of farming, the competition of petty proprietors and small tenants *everywhere and always* inflates land prices and land rent to the proportions of "bondage". We cannot do away with *this kind* of bondage* until we get rid of capitalism. But can this be regarded as an objection to particular measures of struggle against particular and purely Russian forms of bondage? Comrade X reasons as though he objected to a reduction of the working day on the grounds that the intensity of labour would be increased as a result of this reduction. The reduction of the working day is a partial reform, which eradicates only one form of bondage, viz., enslavement by means of longer working hours. Other forms of bondage, as, for instance, "speeding up" the workers, are not eliminated by *this* reform, and all forms of bondage in general cannot be eradicated by any reforms on the basis of capitalism.

When the author says: "Allotment of the cut-off lands is a reactionary measure, which reinforces bondage," he is advancing a proposition which stands in such glaring contradiction to all the data on post-Reform peasant farming that he himself is unable to maintain this stand. He contradicts himself when he says somewhat earlier: "...It goes without saying that it is not the business of the Social-Democratic Party to implant capitalism. This will take place irrespective of the desire of any party, if peasant tenure extends...." But if the extension of peasant tenure in general leads to the development of capitalism, how much the *more* inevitably will this result from the extension of peasant land*ownership* to the special plots of land which engender a specifically serf form of bondage. The restitution of the cut-off lands will raise the peasants' standard of living, expand the home market, increase the demand for wage-workers in the towns, and likewise the demand for wage-labourers among the rich peasants and landlords, who lose a certain mainstay of the labour-rent system of farming. As to the "*implant-*

* This bondage may be limited, kept in check, by empowering the courts to reduce rents—a demand we advance in our programme.

ing of capitalism", that is an altogether queer objection. The restitution of the cut-off lands would signify the implanting of capitalism only were that restitution necessary and advantageous *solely* to the bourgeoisie. But that is not the case. It is no less, if not more, necessary and advantageous to the rural poor, who are suffering from bondage and the labour-rent system. The rural proletarian is oppressed *together* with the rural bourgeois by serf bondage, which is based to a considerable degree on these very cut-off lands. That is why the rural proletarian cannot emancipate himself from this bondage without *thereby* emancipating the rural bourgeois too. Only Messrs. the Rudins and similar Socialist-Revolutionaries, who have forgotten their kinship with the Narodniks, can see in this an "implanting" of capitalism.

Still less convincing are Comrade X's arguments on the question of the feasibility of restituting the cut-off lands. The Volsk Uyezd data he cites speak against him: almost one-fifth of the estates (18 out of 99) have remained in the hands of the old proprietors, i.e., the cut-off lands could be transferred to the peasants directly and without any redemption. Another third of the estates have changed hands entirely, i.e., here it would be necessary to redeem the cut-off lands at the expense of the big landed nobility. And only in 16 cases out of 99 would it be necessary to redeem land from peasants and other owners who purchased it in portions. We simply cannot understand how the restitution of the cut-off lands can be "unfeasible" under such circumstances. Let us take the data referring to the selfsame Saratov Gubernia. We have before us the latest "Materials on the Question of the Needs of the Agricultural Industries in Saratov Gubernia" (Saratov, 1903). The size of all the cut-off lands held by former landlords' peasants is given as 600,000 dessiatines, or 42.7 per cent.* If in 1896 the Zemstvo statisticians could determine the size of the cut-off lands on the basis of extracts

* These latest Zemstvo statistics, we might note, fully bear out the contention of the aforementioned statistician that the data he submitted on the cut-off lands are an *underestimation*. According to those data the cut-off lands in Saratov Gubernia amounted only to 512,000 dessiatines (=38 per cent). As a matter of fact, even 600,000 dessiatines is *below the actual size of the cut-off lands*, for in the first place, it does not include all the village communes of the former landlords' peasants, and, secondly, it covers *only cultivable lands*.

from the title-deeds and other documents, why can their size not be determined even more accurately by the peasant committees in, say, 1906? And if the figures for Volsk Uyezd are taken as a standard, then it would appear that approximately 120,000 dessiatines could be returned to the peasants at once and without any redemption, that about 200,000 dessiatines could be redeemed at once (at the expense of the noblemen's land) from estates which changed hands in their entirety, and that only with regard to the remaining land would the process of redemption (at the expense of the landed nobility), exchange, etc., be somewhat more complicated but in any case by no means "unfeasible". The significance the restitution of their 600,000 dessiatines of land would have for the peasants is, for example, evident from the fact that the total amount of privately owned land rented in Saratov Gubernia at the end of the nineties was approximately 900,000 dessiatines. Naturally, we do not intend to assert that all cut-off lands are being rented at the present time; we merely want to show graphically the proportion of the amount of land to be returned as property, to the amount of land which is now being rented *very often* on terms entailing bondage and serf bondage. This comparison testifies most eloquently to the force of the blow which the restitution of the cut-off lands would deal at relations entailing serf bondage, to the stimulus it would give to the revolutionary energy of the "peasantry" and—what is most important from the viewpoint of the Social-Democrat—to the tremendous impetus it would give to the ideological and political cleavage between the rural proletariat and the peasant bourgeoisie. For the peasant committees' work of expropriation would immediately and inevitably bring about just such a decided and irrevocable cleavage, and by no means a union of the entire "peasantry" for "semi-socialist" "equalitarian" demands for all the land, as the modern epigones of Narodism fondly imagine. The more revolutionary the action of the "peasantry" against the landlords, the more rapid and deep will this cleavage be, which will then be made manifest not by the statistical computations of Marxist research but by the political action of the peasant bourgeoisie, by the struggle of parties and classes within the peasant committees.

And note: by advancing the demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands we are deliberately confining our task to the framework of the existing order; we are *obliged* to do this if we are to speak of a minimum programme and if we do not want to lapse into that kind of barefaced scheme-making, verging on charlatanry, in which "first place" is given to co-operatives, on the one hand, and to socialisation, on the other. We are replying to a question that has been raised but not by us,* to the question of the reforms of tomorrow, which are being discussed by the illegal press, "society", by the Zemstvos, and, perhaps, even by the government. We would be anarchists or simply windbags if we held ourselves aloof from this pressing, but by no means socialist, problem which has been raised by the entire post-Reform

* To what extent the question of agrarian reforms on the basis of the existing order has been raised "not by us" is evident, for example, from the following quotation which we have taken from an article by Mr. V. V., one of the *most prominent* theoreticians of Narodism, which dates back to the best period of his activity (*Otechestvenniye Zapiski*,[128] 1882, Nos. 8 and 9). "The order which we are analysing," Mr. V. V. wrote at the time about our system of agriculture, "has been inherited by us from the serf-owning system.... Serfdom has collapsed but so far only in its juridical aspect and a few others; the system of agriculture, however, has remained the same as it was prior to the Reform.... The peasants were unable to continue running their farms solely on their own curtailed allotments; they absolutely had to use the lands that had been taken from them.... In order to secure the proper running of the small farms, it is necessary to guarantee the peasant the use of at least those lands that ... in one way or another were at his disposal at the time of serfdom. This is the minimum desideratum that can be advanced on behalf of small scale farming." This is how the question was put by those who believed in Narodism and openly preached it, instead of unseemingly playing at hide-and-seek as the Socialist-Revolutionary gentlemen do. And Social-Democracy has appraised this Narodnik presentation in its essence, as it always appraises bourgeois and petty-bourgeois demands. It took over in full the positive and progressive side of the demands (the struggle against all remnants of serfdom), rejecting petty-bourgeois illusions and pointing out that the eradication of the remnants of the serf-owning system will clear the road for, and speed up, capitalist development and not any other kind. It is precisely in the interests of social development and of untying the proletarian's hands, and not "for the sake of small-scale farming" that we present our demand for the restitution of the cut-off lands, while by no means pledging ourselves to assist the "small" *peasant bourgeoisie* either against serfdom or even against the big bourgeoisie.

history of Russia. We must provide a *correct* solution, from the Social-Democratic standpoint, to this problem which has not been raised by us; we must define our position with regard to the agrarian reforms which all liberal society has already demanded and without which no reasonable person can imagine the political emancipation of Russia. And we define *our* stand on this liberal reform (liberal in the scientific, that is the Marxist, sense of the word), while remaining wholly true to our principle of support for the genuinely democratic movement, coupled with steady and persistent work to develop the class-consciousness of the proletariat. We lay down a practical line of conduct with regard to this kind of reform, which the government or the liberals must very soon adopt. We advance a slogan that impels towards a revolutionary issue a reform which has actually been prompted by life itself and not concocted from the fantasy of a hazy, humanitarian *Allerwelts** socialism.

It is in this latter respect that the draft programme of Comrade X is in error. No answer whatever is given to the question of the attitude to be taken towards the forthcoming liberal reforms in agrarian relationships. Instead, we are offered (in points 5 and 7) an inferior and contradictory formulation of the demand for the nationalisation of the land. Contradictory, because the abolition of rent is at one time proposed by means of a tax, at another by means of transferring the land to society; inferior, because rents cannot be abolished by taxes, and because the land should (generally speaking) preferably be transferred to a democratic state, and not to *small* public organisations (like the present or future Zemstvos). The reasons for non-inclusion in our programme of the demand for the nationalisation of the land have already been given more than once, and we shall not repeat them here.

Point 8 does not at all bear upon the practical section of the programme, while Point 6 has been formulated by Comrade X in such a way as to have nothing "agrarian" left in it. Why he deletes the point on the courts and reduction of rents remains a mystery.

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* Acceptable to all.—*Ed.*

The author formulates Point 1 less clearly than is done in our draft, while his addition: "in the interests of defending the petty proprietor (and not of developing petty proprietorship)," is once again non-"agrarian", inaccurate (we are not out to defend petty proprietors who employ wage-labour) and superfluous, for, inasmuch as we defend the person and not the property of the petty bourgeois, we do this through our demand for strictly defined social, financial, and other reforms.

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THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN OUR PROGRAMME

In our draft Party programme we have advanced the demand for a republic with a democratic constitution that would guarantee, among other things, "recognition of the right to self-determination for all nations forming part of the state". Many did not find this demand in our programme sufficiently clear, and in issue No. 33, in speaking about the Manifesto of the Armenian Social-Democrats, we explained the meaning of this point in the following way. The Social-Democrats will always combat every attempt to influence national self-determination from without by violence or by any injustice. However, our unreserved recognition of the struggle for freedom of self-determination does not in any way commit us to supporting every demand for national self-determination. As the party of the proletariat, the Social-Democratic Party considers it to be its positive and principal task to further the self-determination of the proletariat in each nationality rather than that of peoples or nations. We must always and unreservedly work for the *very closest* unity of the proletariat of all nationalities, and it is only in isolated and exceptional cases that we can advance and actively support demands conducive to the establishment of a new class state or to the substitution of a looser federal unity, etc., for the complete political unity of a state.*

This explanation of our programme on the national question has evoked a strong protest from the Polish Socialist Party (P.S.P.).[129] In an article entitled "The Attitude of the Russian Social-Democrats Towards the National Ques-

* See pp. 324-27 of this volume.—*Ed.*

tion" (*Przedświt*,* March 1903), the P.S.P. expresses indignation at this "amazing" explanation and at the "vagueness" of this "mysterious" self-determination of ours; it accuses us both of doctrinairism and of holding the "anarchist" view that "the worker is concerned with nothing but the complete abolition of capitalism, since, we learn, language, nationality, culture, and the like are mere bourgeois inventions", and so on. It is worth considering this argument in detail, for it reveals almost all the misconceptions in the national question so common and so widespread among socialists.

What makes our explanation so "amazing"? Why is it considered a departure from the "literal" meaning? Does recognition of the *right* of nations to self-determination really imply *support* of any demand of every nation for self-determination? After all, the fact that we recognise the *right* of all citizens to form free associations does not at all commit us, Social-Democrats, to *supporting* the formation of any new association; nor does it prevent us from opposing and campaigning against the formation of a given association as an inexpedient and unwise step. We even recognise the *right* of the Jesuits to carry on agitation freely, but we fight (not by police methods, of course) against an alliance between the Jesuits and the proletarians. Consequently, when the *Przedświt* says: "If this demand for the right to free self-determination is to be taken literally [and that is how we have taken it hitherto], then it would satisfy us"—it is quite obvious that it is precisely the P.S.P. that is departing from the literal meaning of the programme. Its conclusion is certainly illogical from the formal point of view.

We do not, however, wish to confine ourselves to a formal verification of our explanation. We shall go straight to the root of the matter: is Social-Democracy in duty bound to demand national independence always and unreservedly, or only under certain circumstances; if the latter is the case then under what circumstances? To this question the P.S.P. has always replied in favour of unreserved recognition; we are not in the least surprised, therefore, at the fondness it displays towards the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries, who

* Dawn.—*Ed.*

demand a federal state system and speak in favour of "complete and unreserved recognition of the right to national self-determination" (*Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*, No. 18, the article entitled "National Enslavement and Revolutionary Socialism"). Unfortunately, this is nothing more than one of those bourgeois-democratic phrases which, for the hundredth and thousandth time, reveal the true nature of the so-called Party of so-called Socialist-Revolutionaries. By falling for the bait presented by these phrases and yielding to the allurement of this clamour, the P.S.P. in its turn proves how weak in theoretical background and political activities is its link with the class struggle of the proletariat. But it is to the interests of this struggle that we must *subordinate* the demand for national self-determination. It is this that makes all the difference between our approach to the national question and the bourgeois-democratic approach. The bourgeois democrat (and the present-day socialist opportunist who follows in his footsteps) imagines that democracy eliminates the class struggle, and that is why he presents all his political demands in an abstract way, lumped together, "without reservations", from the standpoint of the interests of the "whole people", or even from that of an eternal and absolute moral principle. Always and everywhere the Social-Democrat ruthlessly exposes this bourgeois illusion, whether it finds expression in an abstract idealist philosophy or in an absolute demand for national independence.

If there is still need to prove that a Marxist can recognise the demand for national independence only conditionally, namely, on the condition indicated above, let us quote a writer who *defended* from the Marxist viewpoint the Polish proletarians' demand for an independent Poland. In 1896 Karl Kautsky wrote in an article entitled "Finis Poloniae?"*: "Once the proletariat tackles the Polish question it cannot but take a stand in favour of Poland's independence, and, consequently, it cannot but welcome each step that can be taken in this direction at the present time, insofar as this step is at all compatible with the class interests of the international militant proletariat."

* "The End of Poland?"—*Ed.*

"This reservation," Kautsky goes on to say, "should be made in any case. *National independence is not so inseparably linked with the class interests of the militant proletariat as to make it necessary to strive for it unconditionally, under any circumstances.** Marx and Engels took a most determined stand in favour of the unification and liberation of Italy, but this did not prevent them from coming out in 1859 against an Italy allied with Napoleon." (*Neue Zeit*, XIV, 2, S. 520.)

As you see, Kautsky categorically rejects the *unconditional* demand for the independence of nations, and categorically demands that the question be placed not merely on a historical basis in general, but specifically on a class basis. And if we examine how Marx and Engels treated the Polish question, we shall see that this was precisely their approach to it from the very outset. *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[130] devoted much space to the Polish question, and emphatically demanded, not only the independence of Poland, but also that Germany go to war with Russia for Poland's freedom. At the same time Marx, however, attacked Ruge, who had spoken in favour of Poland's freedom in the Frankfort Parliament and had tried to settle the Polish question solely by means of bourgeois-democratic phrases about "shameful injustice", without making any attempt to analyse it historically. Marx was not like those pedants and philistines of the revolution who dread nothing more than "polemics" at revolutionary moments in history. Marx poured pitiless scorn on the "humane" citizen Ruge, and showed him, from the example of the oppression of the south of France by the north of France, that it is not every kind of national oppression that invariably inspires a desire for independence which is justified from the viewpoint of democracy and the proletariat. Marx referred to special social circumstances as a result of which "Poland ... became the revolutionary part of Russia, Austria, and Prussia.... Even the Polish nobility, although their foundations were still partly feudal, adhered to the democratic agrarian revolution with unparalleled selflessness. Poland was already a seat of East-European democracy at a time when Ger-

* Italics ours.

many was still groping her way through the most platitudinous constitutional and high-flown philosophical ideology.... So long as we [Germans] ... help to oppress Poland, so long as we keep part of Poland fettered to Germany, we shall remain fettered to Russia and Russian policy, we shall be unable completely to smash patriarchal feudal absolutism at home. The creation of a democratic Poland is the primary prerequisite of the creation of a democratic Germany.[131]

We have quoted these statements in such detail because they graphically show the historical background at a time when the attitude of international Social-Democracy to the Polish problem took shape in a way which held good almost throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. To ignore the changes which have taken place in that background and to continue advocating the old solutions given by Marxism, would mean being true to the letter but not to the spirit of the teaching, would mean repeating the old conclusions by rote, without being able to use the Marxist method of research to analyse the new political situation. Those times and today—the age of the last bourgeois revolutionary movements, and the age of desperate reaction, extreme tension of all forces on the eve of the proletarian revolution—differ in the most obvious way. *In those times* Poland as a whole, not only the peasantry, but even the bulk of the nobility, was revolutionary. The traditions of the struggle for national liberation were so strong and deep-rooted that, after their defeat at home, Poland's best sons went wherever they could find a revolutionary class to support; the memory of Dabrowski and of Wróblewski[132] is inseparably associated with the greatest movement of the proletariat in the nineteenth century, with the last—and let us hope the last unsuccessful—insurrection of the Paris workers. *In those times* complete victory for democracy in Europe was indeed impossible without the restoration of Poland. *In those times* Poland was indeed the bulwark of civilisation against tsarism, and the vanguard of democracy. *Today* the Polish ruling classes, the gentry in Germany and in Austria, and the industrial and financial magnates in Russia are supporting the ruling classes of the countries that oppress Poland, while the German and the Russian proletariat are fighting for freedom side by side with the Polish

proletariat, which has heroically taken over the great traditions of the old revolutionary Poland. *Today* the advanced representatives of Marxism in the neighbouring country, while attentively watching the political evolution of Europe and fully sympathising with the heroic struggle of the Poles, nevertheless frankly admit that "at present St. Petersburg has become a much more important revolutionary centre than Warsaw, and the Russian revolutionary movement is already of greater international significance than the Polish movement". This is what Kautsky wrote as early as 1896, in defending the inclusion in the Polish Social-Democrats' programme of the demand for Poland's restoration. And in 1902 Mehring, who has been studying the evolution of the Polish question since 1848, arrived at the following conclusion: "Had the Polish proletariat desired to inscribe on its banner the restoration of a Polish class state, which the ruling classes themselves do not want to hear of, it would be playing a historical farce; this may well happen to the propertied classes (as, for instance, the Polish nobility in 1791), but it should never happen to the working class. If, on the other hand, this reactionary Utopia comes out to win over to proletarian agitation those sections of the intelligentsia and of the petty bourgeoisie which still respond in some measure to national agitation, then that Utopia is doubly untenable as an outgrowth of that unworthy opportunism which sacrifices the long-term interests of the working class to the cheap and paltry successes of the moment.

"Those interests dictate categorically that, in all three states that have partitioned Poland, the Polish workers should fight unreservedly side by side with their class comrades. The times are past when a bourgeois revolution could create a free Poland: today the renascence of Poland is possible only through a social revolution, in the course of which the modern proletariat will break its chains."[133]

We fully subscribe to Mehring's conclusion. We shall only remark that this conclusion remains unassailable even if we do not go as far as Mehring in our arguments. Without any doubt the present state of the Polish question differs radically from that which obtained fifty years ago. However, the present situation cannot be regarded as permanent. Class antagonism has now undoubtedly relegated na-

tional questions far into the background, but, without the risk of lapsing into doctrinairism, it cannot be categorically asserted that some particular national question cannot appear temporarily in the foreground of the political drama. No doubt, the restoration of Poland prior to the fall of capitalism is highly improbable, but it cannot be asserted that it is absolutely impossible, or that circumstances may not arise under which the Polish bourgeoisie will take the side of independence, etc. And Russian Social-Democracy does not in the least intend to tie its own hands. In including in its programme recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, it takes into account *all* possible, and even all *conceivable*, combinations. That programme in no way precludes the adoption by the Polish proletariat of the slogan of a free and independent Polish republic, even though the probability of its becoming a reality before socialism is introduced is infinitesimal. The programme merely demands that a genuinely socialist party shall not corrupt proletarian class-consciousness, or slur over the class struggle, or lure working class with bourgeois-democratic phrases, or break the unity of the proletariat's present-day political struggle. This reservation is the crux of the matter, for only with this reservation do we recognise self-determination. It is useless for the P.S.P. to pretend that it differs from the German or Russian Social-Democrats in their rejection of the right to self-determination, the right to strive for a free and independent republic. It is not this, but the fact that it loses sight of the class point of view, obscures it by chauvinism and disrupts the unity of the present-day political struggle, that prevents us from regarding the P.S.P. as a genuine Social-Democratic workers' party. This, for instance, is how the P.S.P. usually presents the question: "... We can only weaken tsarism by wresting Poland from it; it is the task of the Russian comrades to overthrow it." Or again: "... After the overthrow of tsarism we would simply decide our fate by seceding from Russia." See to what monstrous conclusions this monstrous logic leads, even from the viewpoint of the programme demand for Poland's restoration. *Because* the restoration of Poland is one of the possible (but, whilst the bourgeoisie rules, by no means absolutely certain) consequences of democratic evolution, *therefore* the Polish

proletariat must not fight together with the Russian proletariat to overthrow tsarism, but "only" to weaken it by wresting Poland from it. *Because* Russian tsarism is concluding a closer and closer alliance with the bourgeoisie and the governments of Germany, Austria, etc., *therefore* the Polish proletariat must weaken its alliance with the proletariat of Russia, Germany, etc., together with whom it is now fighting against *one and the same* yoke. This is nothing more than sacrificing the most vital interests of the proletariat to the bourgeois-democratic conception of national independence. The disintegration of Russia which the P.S.P. desires, *as distinct from* our aim of overthrowing tsarism, is and will remain an empty phrase, as long as economic development continues to bring the different parts of a political whole more and more closely together, and as long as the bourgeoisie of all countries unite more and more closely against their common enemy, the proletariat, and in support of their common ally, the tsar. But *the division of the forces of the proletariat*, which is now suffering under the yoke of this autocracy, is the sad reality, the direct consequence of the error of the P.S.P., the direct outcome of its worship of bourgeois-democratic formulas. To turn a blind eye to this division of the proletariat, the P.S.P. has to stoop to chauvinism and present the views of the Russian Social-Democrats as follows: "We [the Poles] must wait for the social revolution, and until then we must patiently endure national oppression." This is an utter falsehood. The Russian Social-Democrats have never advised anything of the sort; on the contrary, they themselves fight, and call upon the whole Russian proletariat to fight, against all manifestations of national oppression in Russia; they include in *their* programme not only complete equality of status for all languages, nationalities, etc., but also recognition of every nation's right to determine its own destiny. Recognising this right, we *subordinate* to the interests of the proletarian struggle our support of the demand for national independence, and only a chauvinist can interpret our position as an expression of a Russian's mistrust of a non-Russian, for in reality this position necessarily follows from the class-conscious proletarian's distrust of the bourgeoisie. The P.S.P. takes the view that the national question is *exhausted* by the contrast—"we" (Poles) and "they"

(Germans, Russians, etc.). The Social-Democrat, however, gives first place to the contrast—"we", the proletarians, and "they", the bourgeoisie. "We", the proletarians, have seen dozens of times how the bourgeoisie *betrays* the interests of freedom, motherland, language, and nation, when it is confronted with the revolutionary proletariat. We witnessed the French bourgeoisie's surrender to the Prussians at the moment of the greatest humiliation and suppression of the French nation, the Government of National Defence becoming a Government of National Defection, the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation calling to its aid the troops of the oppressing nation so as to crush its proletarian fellow countrymen, who had dared to assume power. And that is why, undeterred by chauvinist and opportunist heckling, we shall always say to the Polish workers: only the most complete and intimate alliance with the Russian proletariat can meet the requirements of the present political struggle against the autocracy; only such an alliance can guarantee complete political and economic emancipation.

What we have said on the Polish question is wholly applicable to every other national question. The accursed history of autocracy has left us a legacy of tremendous *estrangement* between the working classes of the various nationalities oppressed by that autocracy. This estrangement is a very great evil, a very great obstacle in the struggle against the autocracy, and we must not legitimise this evil or sanctify this outrageous state of affairs by establishing any such "principles" as separate parties or a "federation" of parties. It is, of course, simpler and easier to follow the line of least resistance, and for everyone to make himself comfortable in his own corner following the rule, "it's none of my business", as the Bund now wants to do. The more we realise the need for unity and the more firmly we are convinced that a concerted offensive against the autocracy is impossible without complete unity, the more obvious becomes the necessity for a centralised organisation of the struggle in the conditions of our political system—the less inclined are we to be satisfied with a "simple", but specious and, at bottom, profoundly false solution of the problem. So long as the injuriousness of estrangement is not realised, and so long as there is no desire to put an end radically and at all costs to this

estrangement in the camp of the proletarian party, there is no need for the fig-leaf of "federation", and no use in undertaking to solve a problem which one of the "sides" concerned has no real desire to solve. That being the case, it is better to let the lessons of experience and of the actual movement prove that centralism is essential for success in the struggle waged by the proletarians of all nationalities oppressed by autocracy against that autocracy and against the international bourgeoisie, which is becoming more and more united.

Iskra, No. 44, July 15, 1903

Published according to the *Iskra* text

OUTLINE OF AN ARTICLE AGAINST THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES

About the Socialist-Revolutionaries (a party without a programme).

α) Lack of principle — Unprincipledness in matters of theory: Narodnik prejudices + West-European opportunist bourgeois "criticism". Absence of a credo, blurred political consciousness. Playing at hide-and-seek....

β) Petty-bourgeois ideology — Petty-bourgeois ideology: corrupts the class-consciousness of the proletariat, makes it unfit for an independent stand towards bourgeois democracy (because the Socialist-Revolutionaries are striving to fuse and confuse social and bourgeois democracy, while being in essence a branch of the latter).

ν) Phrases and bluff — Phrase-mongering in theory and in tactics: an unserious attitude towards revolutionary work, exaggeration, bluff, "fiction" ... (dishing out trivialities in "popular" literature) (war against "polemics", absence of principles).

δ) Terrorism — A tactical mistake, a very flagrant one: terrorism, advocacy of it, weakening of contact with the mass movement.

ΣΣ*: from all the bourgeois revolutions in Europe the working class emerged disap-

* *Summa summarum*—sum-total.—*Ed.*

ε) Dissemination of illusions + reactionary spirit of the Narodnik part of the programme + ideological, political and practical harm	pointed, because it entered them with bourgeois-democratic illusions. The Socialist-Revolutionaries are doing their utmost to "repeat" this history; it is our duty to wage a determined struggle against it, so that the Russian proletariat should derive from the forthcoming revolution not disappointment, but fresh faith in its strength, greater courage for the still more tremendous struggle before it, and the beginnings of a strong, purely proletarian organisation.

Written in July 1903

First published in 1939 in the magazine *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*

Published according to the manuscript

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P.[134]

JULY 17 (30) - AUGUST 10 (23), 1903

Speeches first published in Geneva in 1904 in the *Minutes of the Second Regular Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*

Speeches are published according to the text in the *Minutes* and the manuscripts

1

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON DEMONSTRATIONS

The Congress considers the organisation of public demonstrations against the autocracy a highly important means of political education of the working masses. In this connection, the Congress recommends, firstly, that special efforts should be made to utilise for demonstrations such instances and circumstances when some atrocious act by the tsarist government has aroused particularly widespread indignation among the people; secondly, that efforts should be most of all directed to securing the participation of broad *masses* of the working class in the demonstrations and the best possible *organisation* of the latter, in regard to preparation for them, their efficient handling, and guidance of demonstrators' resistance to the troops and police; thirdly, that preparations for armed demonstrations should be begun, strictly observing instructions of the Central Committee in this respect.

The Congress also recommends that all committees and other organisations of the Party should thoroughly discuss the question of preparations for an armed uprising and should make every effort to convince the working masses of the necessity and inevitability of an uprising. The practical measures which can already be taken in preparing for an uprising are entrusted by the Congress exclusively and entirely to the Central Committee.

Written in June-July 1903

First published in 1927 in *Lenin Miscellany VI*

Published according to the manuscript

2

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PLACE OF THE BUND IN THE PARTY

Taking into consideration that the fullest and closest unity of the militant proletariat is absolutely essential both for the purpose of the earliest achievement of its ultimate aim and in the interests of an unswerving political and economic struggle in conditions of the existing society;

that, in particular, complete unity between the Jewish and non-Jewish proletariat is moreover especially necessary for a successful struggle against anti-Semitism, this despicable attempt of the government and the exploiting classes to exacerbate racial particularism and national enmity;

that the complete amalgamation of the Social-Democratic organisations of the Jewish and non-Jewish proletariat can in no respect or manner restrict the independence of our Jewish comrades in conducting propaganda and agitation in one language or another, in publishing literature adapted to the needs of a given local or national movement, or in advancing such slogans for agitation and the direct political struggle that would be an application and development of the general and fundamental principles of the Social-Democratic programme regarding full equality and full freedom of language, national culture, etc., etc.;

the Congress emphatically repudiates federation as the organisational principle of a Russian party and endorses the organisational principle adopted as the basis of the Rules of 1898, i.e., autonomy for the national Social-Democratic organisations in matters concerning....*

Written in June-July 1903

First published in 1927 in *Lenin Miscellany VI*

Published according to the manuscript

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* Here the manuscript breaks off.—*Ed.*

3

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STUDENT YOUTH

The Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party welcomes the growing revolutionary initiative among the student youth and calls upon all organisations of the Party to give them every possible assistance in their efforts to organise. It recommends that all student groups and study circles should, firstly, make it the prime object of their activities to imbue their members with an integral and consistent socialist world outlook and give them a thorough acquaintance with Marxism, on the one hand, and with Russian Narodism and West-European opportunism, on the other, these being the principal currents among the conflicting advanced trends of today; secondly, that they should beware of those false friends of the youth who divert them from a thorough revolutionary training through recourse to empty revolutionary or idealistic phrase-mongering and philistine complaints about the harm and uselessness of sharp polemics between the revolutionary and the opposition movements, for as a matter of fact these false friends are only spreading an unprincipled and unserious attitude towards revolutionary work; thirdly, that they should endeavour, when undertaking practical activities, to establish prior contact with the Social-Democratic organisations, so as to have the benefit of their advice and, as far as possible, to avoid serious mistakes at the very outset of their work.

Written in June-July 1903

First published in Geneva in 1904 in the *Minutes of the Second Regular Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*

Published according to the manuscript

4

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PARTY LITERATURE

The Congress recognises the absolute and urgent necessity for a wide production of popular Social-Democratic literature for all sections of the population, and for the working-class masses in particular.

The Congress considers it necessary in the first place to compile a series of pamphlets (each ranging from one to five signatures in size) dealing with each (theoretical and practical) point of our Party programme and giving a detailed exposition and explanation of that point; and then a number of leaflets (ranging from one to eight printed pages each) on the same subjects to be scattered or distributed in town and country. The Congress instructs the editorial board of the Central Organ to immediately take all steps to fulfil this task.

As regards publication of a special popular newspaper for the people or for the broad sections of the working class, the Congress, though it does not reject this project in principle, considers it untimely at the immediate moment.

Written in June-July 1903

First published in 1927 in *Lenin Miscellany VI*

Published according to the manuscript

5

DRAFTS OF MINOR RESOLUTIONS

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

The Congress deems it absolutely essential in all cases to support and develop in every way the economic struggle of the workers and their trade unions (principally the all-Russian unions) and from the very outset to ensure that the economic struggle and the trade-union movement in Russia have a Social-Democratic character.

MAY DAY

The Congress approves the celebration of the First of May, which has already become a tradition, and draws the attention of all Party organisations to the necessity of selecting the time and ways most suitable under existing conditions for celebrating this international holiday of the proletariat's struggle for freedom.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

The Congress appoints Comrade Plekhanov to represent the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the Secretariat of the Socialist International (in amendment of the Paris decision to appoint Plekhanov and Krichevsky joint representatives).

The Congress instructs the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee to arrange, by agreement between them (or by decision of the Party Council), for the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party to be represented at the International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam in 1904.

TERRORISM

The Congress decisively rejects terrorism, i.e., the system of individual political assassinations, as being a method of political struggle which is most inexpedient at the present time, diverting the best forces from the urgent and imperatively necessary work of organisation and agitation, destroying contact between the revolutionaries and the masses of the revolutionary classes of the population, and spreading both among the revolutionaries themselves and the population in general utterly destorted ideas of the aims and methods of struggle against the autocracy.

PROPAGANDA

The Congress calls the attention of all Party members to the importance of improving the theoretical knowledge of our propagandists and of forming groups of travelling lecturers so as to co-ordinate propaganda throughout the country.

DISTRIBUTION OF FORCES

The Congress recommends to all comrades returning to Russia from abroad or from exile to their place of activity, especially if they do not have well-established contacts with any committee, that they should endeavour to give timely notice to the Central Committee or its agents so, as to enable the Central Committee properly and promptly to distribute revolutionary forces throughout Russia.

Written in June-July 1903

First published in 1927 in *Lenin Miscellany VI*

Published according to the manuscript

6

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE PUBLICATION OF A PERIODICAL FOR MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS SECTS

Bearing in mind that in many of its aspects the sectarian movement in Russia represents one of the democratic trends in Russia, the Second Congress calls the attention of all Party members to the necessity of working among members of sects so as to bring them under Social-Democratic influence. By way of experiment, the Congress permits Comrade V. Bonch-Bruyevich to publish, under the supervision of the editorial board of the Central Organ, a popular newspaper entitled *Among Sectarians*, and instructs the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ to take the measures necessary to ensure successful publication of this newspaper and to create all the conditions for its proper functioning.

Written in August 1903

First published in Geneva in 1904 in the *Minutes of the Second Regular Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*

Published according to the manuscript

7

DRAFT RULES OF THE R.S.D.L.P.[135]

1. A Party member is one who accepts the Party's programme and supports the Party both financially and by personal participation in one of its organisations.

2. The Party Congress is the supreme organ of the Party. Party congresses are summoned (if possible, not less than once in two years) by the Central Committee. The Central Committee is obliged to summon a congress at the demand of Party committees, or unions of committees, which jointly had one-third of the votes at the preceding congress, or at the demand of the Party Council. A congress is valid given representation of over one half of all (properly constituted) committees of the Party existing at the moment of the congress.

3. The following are entitled to representation at a congress: a) the Central Committee; b) the editorial board of the Central Organ; c) all local committees which do not belong to special unions; d) all unions of committees recognised by the Party; and e) the League Abroad. Each of the organisations enumerated has two deciding votes at a congress. New committees and unions of committees are entitled to be represented at a congress only if they have been endorsed not less than six months before the congress.

4. The Party Congress appoints the Central Committee, the editorial board of the Central Organ, and the Party Council.

5. The Central Committee co-ordinates and directs all the practical activities of the Party and administers the

Central Party Treasury, as well as all the general technical establishments of the Party. It examines conflicts that may arise between various organisations and institutions of the Party or within them.

6. The editorial board of the Central Organ gives ideological guidance to the Party by editing the Party's Central Organ, the scientific organ, and pamphlets.

7. The Party Council is appointed by the congress from among members of the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee, and consists of five persons. The Council settles disputes and differences arising between the editorial board of the Central Organ and the Central Committee on questions of general organisation and tactics. The Party Council appoints a new Central Committee in the event of the arrest of all the members of the old committee.

8. New committees and unions of committees are endorsed by the Central Committee. Each committee, union, organisation, or group recognised by the Party has charge of affairs relating specifically and exclusively to its particular locality, district or national movement, or to the special function assigned to it, being bound, however, to obey the decisions of the Central Committee and the Central Organ and to make contributions to the Central Party Treasury in amounts determined by the Central Committee.

9. Any Party member and any person who has any contact with the Party is entitled to demand that any statements made by him should be transmitted in the original to the Central Committee, the Central Organ, or the Party Congress.

10. It is the duty of every Party organisation to afford both the Central Committee and the editorial board of the Central Organ every opportunity of becoming acquainted with all its activities and its entire composition.

11. All Party organisations and collegiate bodies decide their affairs by a simple majority vote and have the right of co-optation. A two-thirds majority vote is required for co-optation or expulsion of members.

12. It is the purpose of the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad to carry on propaganda and agitation abroad and also to assist the movement in Russia.

The League enjoys all the rights of committees, with the sole exception that it renders assistance to the movement in Russia only through persons or groups specially appointed for the purpose by the Central Committee.

Written in August 1903

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Published according to the text of the Minutes

8

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS NOT SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS

WITHDRAWAL OF THE BUND

The Congress considers the refusal of the Bund delegates to submit to the decision adopted by the majority of the Congress as the Bund's withdrawal from the R.S.D.L.P.

The Congress deeply regrets this step, which, it is convinced, is a major political mistake on the part of the present leaders of the "Jewish Workers' Union", a mistake which must inevitably injure the interests of the Jewish proletariat and working-class movement. The Congress considers that the arguments cited by the Bund delegates in justification of their step amount in practice to entirely unfounded apprehensions and suspicion that the Social-Democratic convictions of the Russian Social-Democrats are insincere and inconsistent; in respect of theory they are the result of the unfortunate penetration of nationalism into the Social-Democratic movement of the Bund.

The Congress voices its desire for, and firm conviction of, the need for complete and closest unity of the Jewish and Russian working-class movement in Russia, unity not only in principle but also in organisation, and resolves to take all measures in order to acquaint the Jewish proletariat in detail both with this resolution of the Congress and with the general attitude of the Russian Social-Democrats towards every national movement.

SEPARATE GROUPS

The Congress expresses its regret at the separate existence of such groups of Social-Democrats as the *Borba*, *Zhizn* and *Volya*. Their separateness cannot but, on the one hand, lead to disorganisation impermissible in the Party, and on the other hand, to regrettable departures from Social-Democratic views and Social-Democratic tactics towards so-called socialist-revolutionism (as exemplified by the *Volya* group and partially also by the *Borba* in its agrarian programme), or towards Christian socialism and anarchism (*Zhizn*). The Congress would like to see the above-mentioned groups, and in general all groups which identify themselves with Social-Democracy, join the ranks of united and organised Russian Social-Democracy. The Congress instructs the Central Committee to collect the necessary information and to adopt a final decision on the place of the above-mentioned and other separate groups within the Party, or on the attitude of the Party towards these groups.

THE ARMY

The Congress calls the attention of all Party organisations to the importance of Social-Democratic propaganda and agitation in the army, and recommends that all efforts should be made for the speediest strengthening and proper channelling of all the existing contacts among the officers and other ranks. The Congress considers it desirable to form special groups of Social-Democrats serving in the army, in order that these groups should occupy a definite position in the local committees (as branches of the committees), or in the central organisation (as institutions formed directly by the Central Committee and subordinated directly to it).

THE PEASANTRY

The Congress calls the special attention of all Party members to the importance of developing and strengthening work among the peasantry. It is necessary to acquaint the peasantry (and, especially, the rural proletariat) with the Social-Democratic programme in its entirety, and to explain the significance of the agrarian programme as the first and

immediate demands under the existing system. It is necessary to get class-conscious peasants and intellectuals in the countryside to form solidly united groups of Social-Democrats, which would maintain constant contact with the Party committees. It is necessary to counter the propaganda conducted among the peasantry by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, propaganda which spreads unprincipledness and reactionary Narodnik prejudices.

Written on August 5 (18)-10 (23), 1903

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Published according to the manuscript

9

FIRST SPEECH ON THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS
July 18 (31)

I should like to make a remark. It would be wrong, it is claimed, to make the question of the Bund the first item on the agenda, since the reports should be the first item, the programme the second, and the Bund the third. The arguments in favour of this order will not stand criticism. They amount to the presumption that the Party as a whole has not yet reached agreement on the programme, and that it is possible that precisely on this question we may part company. I am surprised at that. It is true that we have not yet adopted a programme, but the surmise that a rupture may take place over the programme is conjectural in the highest degree. No such tendencies have been discernible in the Party, at least as far as its literature is concerned, which of late has given the fullest reflection of Party opinion. There are both formal and moral reasons for making the question of the Bund the first item on the agenda. Formally, we stand by the Manifesto of 1898, but the Bund has expressed a desire for a radical change in our Party's organisation. Morally, many other organisations have expressed their disagreement with the Bund over this question; that has caused sharp differences leading even to polemics. The Congress therefore cannot begin harmonious work until these differences have been removed. As to the delegates' reports, it is possible that they may not be heard *in pleno* at all. I therefore second the agenda in the order approved by the Organising Committee.

10

SECOND SPEECH ON THE AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS
July 18 (31)

Now that the Congress has decided what shall be the first item on our agenda, the third point is the only moot point with regard to the rest of the agenda. This item reads: "Creation of the Central Organ of the Party, or endorsement of such." Some comrades consider that this item should be shifted farther down, because, firstly, one cannot speak of the Central Organ until a decision has been taken on the organisation of the Party in general and of its central body in particular, and so on; and, secondly, because many committees have already expressed their views on the substance of this question. I consider the second argument wrong, for declarations by the committees are not binding on the Congress and, formally speaking, have no deciding vote at the Congress. The other objection is wrong because, before settling details of organisation, the Party Rules, and the like, we must first definitely decide on the trend of Russian Social-Democracy. In fact, it is this question that has divided us so long, and the mere adoption of a programme cannot remove all the differences dividing us on this issue; that can be done only by deciding, immediately after the question of the programme, what kind of Central Organ of the Party we should form anew, or what old one we should endorse with certain modifications.

That is why I second the agenda in the order endorsed by the Organising Committee.

11

SPEECH ON THE ACTIONS OF THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE
July 18 (31)[136]

I cannot agree with Comrade Yegorov. It is he who has infringed the standing orders of the Congress and it is he who is against the clause on imperative mandates. I do not doubt the existence of the Organising Committee, just as I do not doubt the existence of the *Iskra* organisation, which also has its own organisation and its own Rules. But as soon as the standing orders of the Congress were announced, the *Iskra* organisation informed its delegates that they have full freedom of action at the Congress. Just imagine our position, as members of the Credentials Committee of the Congress, who yesterday heard two members of the Organising Committee, Comrades Stein and Pavlovich, and today are hearing an entirely new proposal. There are experienced comrades here who have attended many international congresses. These comrades could tell you what a storm of indignation has always been aroused when people say one thing at committees and another on the floor of the Congress.

12

SPEECH ON THE ATTENDANCE OF THE POLISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AT THE CONGRESS

July 18 (31)

In its report, the committee holds that the Polish comrades' presence at the Congress is desirable, but only in a deliberative capacity. In my opinion that is quite right, and it seems to me quite reasonable to begin the resolution of the committee with a statement to this effect. The presence of the Letts and the Lithuanians would also be highly desirable, but, unfortunately, that is not feasible. The Polish comrades could have announced their conditions of affiliation at any time, but they did not do so. The Organising Committee was therefore right in exercising restraint towards them. Nor is the question clarified by the letter from the Polish Social-Democrats which was read here. In view of this, I move that the Polish comrades be invited as guests.

13

SPEECH ON THE PLACE OF THE BUND IN THE R.S.D.L.P.
July 20 (August 2)

I shall first deal with Hofman's[137] speech and his expression "a compact majority". Comrade Hofman uses these words by way of reproach. In my opinion we should be proud, not ashamed, of the fact that there is a compact majority at the Congress. And we shall be prouder still if our whole Party proves to be a compact, a highly compact, 90 per cent, majority. (*Applause.*) The majority were right in making the position of the Bund in the Party the first item on the agenda, and the Bundists at once proved this by submitting their so-called Rules, but in essence proposing *federation*. Once there are members in the Party who propose federation and others who reject it, there could be no other course open but to make the question of the Bund the first item on the agenda. It is no use forcing your favours on anybody, and the internal affairs of the Party cannot be discussed until we have firmly and uncompromisingly settled whether or not we want to march together.

The crux of the issue has not always been presented quite correctly in the debate. The point of the matter is that, in the opinion of many Party members, federation is *harmful* and runs counter to the principles of Social-Democracy as applied to existing Russian conditions. Federation is harmful because it *sanctions* segregation and alienation, elevates them to a principle, to a law. Complete alienation does indeed prevail among us, and we ought not to sanction it, or cover it with a fig-leaf, but combat it and resolutely acknowledge and proclaim the necessity of firmly and unswervingly advancing towards the *closest* unity. That is why we reject

federation in principle, *in limine** (as the Latin phrase has it); that is why we reject *all* obligatory partitions that serve to divide us. As it is, there will always be different groupings in the Party, groupings of comrades who do not think quite alike on questions of programme, tactics or organisation; but let there be only *one* division into groups throughout the Party, that is, let all like-minded members join in a single group, instead of groups first being formed in *one section* of the Party, separately from the groups in another section of the Party, and then having a union not of groups holding different views or different shades of opinion, but of sections of the Party, each containing different groups. I repeat, we recognise no *obligatory* partitions, and that is why we reject federation in principle.

I shall now pass to the question of autonomy. Comrade Lieber has said that federation means centralism, while autonomy means decentralism. Can it be that Comrade Lieber takes the Congress members for six-year-old children, who may be regaled with such sophistries? Is it not clear that centralism demands the *absence* of all partitions between the central body and even the most remote and out-of-the-way sections of the Party? Our central body will be given the absolute right to communicate directly with every Party member. The Bundists would only laugh if someone would propose to them a form of "centralism" *within* the Bund, under which its Central Committee could not communicate with all the Kovno groups and comrades *otherwise than* through the Kovno Committee. Incidentally, as regards the committees: Comrade Lieber has exclaimed with feeling, "What is the good of talking about the Bund's autonomy if it is to be an organisation subordinated to one central body? After all, you would not grant autonomy to some Tula Committee!" You are mistaken, Comrade Lieber; we will certainly and most decidedly grant autonomy to "some" Tula Committee, too, autonomy in the sense of freedom from petty interference by the central body, although the duty of obeying that body will, of course, remain. I have taken the words "petty interference" from the Bund leaflet, "Autonomy or Federation?" The Bund has advanced this freedom from

* On the threshold.—*Ed.*

"petty interference" as a *condition*, as a *demand* to the Party. The mere fact that it advances such ridiculous demands shows how muddled the Bund is on the question at issue. Does the Bund really think that the Party would tolerate the existence of a central body that indulged in "*petty*" interference in the affairs of *any* Party organisation or group? Is this not, in effect, precisely that "organised distrust" which has already been mentioned at this Congress? Such distrust runs through all the proposals and arguments of the Bundists. Is it not, in fact, the *duty* of our entire Party to fight, for example, for *full* equality and even for *recognition* of the right of nations to self-determination? Consequently, if any section of our Party failed in this duty, it would unquestionably be liable to condemnation by virtue of our principles; it would unquestionably be liable to *correction* on the part of the central institutions of the Party. And if the neglect of that duty were conscious and deliberate, despite full opportunity to carry out that duty, then that would be *treachery*.

Further. Comrade Lieber has asked us in moving tones *how it can he proved* that autonomy is able to guarantee to the Jewish workers' movement that independence which is absolutely essential to it. A strange question, indeed! How can it be proved that one of the several paths suggested is the right one? The only way is to try it and see. My reply to Comrade Lieber's question is: *M a r c h w i t h u s*, and we undertake to prove to you in practice that all legitimate demands for independence are gratified in full.

When I hear disputes about the place of the Bund, I always recollect the British miners. They are excellently organised, better than any other workers. And *because of that* they want to thwart the general demand for an 8-hour day put forward by all proletarians.[138] These miners have the same narrow idea of the unity of the proletariat as our Bundists. Let the sad example of the miners serve as a warning to our comrades of the Bund.

РОЗМАРА
БОМАО
NOT FOR
COMMERCIAL
DISTRIBUTION

14

SPEECH ON THE PARTY PROGRAMME
July 22 (August 4)

First of all, I must draw attention to the highly characteristic way in which Comrade Lieber confuses a Marshal of the Nobility with a section of the toilers and the exploited. This confusion is a feature of all the debates. Isolated episodes of our controversy are being everywhere confused with the establishment of basic principles. One cannot deny, as Comrade Lieber does, the possibility of even a *section* (one or another) of the working and exploited population coming over to the side of the proletariat. You will recall that in 1852, referring to the revolt of the French peasants, Marx wrote (in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*) that the peasantry acts sometimes as a representative of the past and sometimes as a representative of the future; one can appeal not only to the peasant's prejudice, but to his judgement[139] as well. You will further recall that Marx said the Communards were quite right in declaring the cause of the Commune that of the peasantry as well.[140] I repeat, it cannot be doubted that, under certain conditions, it is by no means impossible for one section or another of the working people to come over to the side of the proletariat. The important thing is to define these conditions correctly. And the condition we are speaking of is expressed quite accurately in the words "place themselves at the standpoint of the proletariat". It is these words that draw a definite line of demarcation between us, Social-Democrats, and all pseudo-socialist trends in general, and the so-called Socialist-Revolutionaries in particular.

I shall now go over to that disputed passage in my pamphlet, *What Is to Be Done?*, which gave rise to so much discussion here. After all this discussion, I think that the question has been so clarified that very little remains for me to add. It is obvious that here an episode in the struggle against "economism" has been confused with a discussion of the principles of a major theoretical question (the formation of an ideology). Moreover, this episode has been presented in an absolutely false light.

In support of this last statement, I might refer first of all to Comrades Akimov and Martynov, who spoke here. They made it quite clear that it was indeed an episode in the struggle against "economism" which was at issue here. They expressed views which have already been termed opportunism (and quite rightly so). They actually went so far as to "refute" the theory of impoverishment, to dispute the dictatorship of the proletariat, and even to advocate the "*Erfüllungstheorie*", as Comrade Akimov called it. To tell the truth, I do not quite know what that means. Perhaps Comrade Akimov meant to say "*Aushöhlungstheorie*"—the "theory of the hollowing out" of capitalism, that is, one of the most popular and current ideas of the Bernsteinian theory. In his defence of the old mainstays of "economism", Comrade Akimov even advanced such an incredibly eccentric argument as that the word proletariat does not figure in our programme even once in the nominative case. At most, Comrade Akimov exclaimed, they have the proletariat in the genitive case. And so it appears that the nominative is the most honourable case, whereas the genitive takes second place in the scale of honour. It only remains to convey this idea—through a special commission, perhaps—to Comrade Ryazanov, so as to enable him to supplement his first scientific work on the letters of the alphabet with another treatise on the cases....

As to the direct references to my pamphlet, *What Is to Be Done?*, it will be quite easy for me to show that they have been wrenched from the context. It is claimed that Lenin says nothing about any conflicting trends, but categorically affirms that the working-class movement invariably "*tends*" to succumb to bourgeois ideology. Is that so? Have I not said that the working-class movement is drawn

towards the bourgeois outlook *with the benevolent assistance* of the Schulze-Delitzsches *and others like them*?* And who is meant here by "others like them"? None other than the "economists", none other than those who, for example, used to say then that bourgeois democracy in Russia is a phantom. Today it is easy to talk so cheaply about bourgeois radicalism and liberalism, when examples of them are to be found right before us. But was that the case previously?

Lenin takes no account whatever of the fact that the workers, too, have a share in the formation of an ideology. Is that so? Have I not said time and again that the shortage of fully class-conscious workers, worker-leaders, and worker-revolutionaries is, in fact, the greatest deficiency in our movement? Have I not said there that the training of such worker-revolutionaries must be our immediate task? Is there no mention there of the importance of developing a trade-union movement and creating a special trade-union literature? Is not a desperate struggle waged there against every attempt to lower the level of the advanced workers to that of the masses, or of the average workers?**

To conclude. We all now know that the "economists" have gone to one extreme. To straighten matters out somebody had to pull in the other direction—and that is what I have done. I am convinced that Russian Social-Democracy will always vigorously straighten out whatever has been twisted by opportunism of any kind, and that therefore our line of action will always be the straightest and the fittest for action.

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* See present edition, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

** *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

15

REPORT ON THE PARTY RULES
July 29 (August 11)

Lenin (the reporter) gives an explanation of the draft Rules submitted by him. The basic idea of the Rules, he says, is that of a division of *functions*. Hence, the division into two central bodies, for example, is not due to their geographical division (Russia and abroad), but is a logical consequence of a division of functions. It is the function of the Central Committee to exercise practical leadership, that of the Central Organ to exercise ideological leadership. To co-ordinate the activities of these two central bodies, to preclude disunity between them, and, in part, to settle disputes, a Council is needed, which should not at all be purely an institution of arbitration. The paragraphs in the Rules which govern the relations between the Central Committee and the local committees, and define the Central Committee's competence cannot and should not enumerate all the points within that competence. Such an enumeration is inconvenient and impossible, for it is inconceivable that all possible cases should be foreseen, and, moreover, points unprovided for might appear to be outside the competence of the Central Committee. The Central Committee itself should be allowed to determine the sphere of its competence, since any local matter may affect the interests of the Party as a whole, and the Central Committee should be in a position to intervene in local affairs, even going against local interests, should such action be in the interests of the Party as a whole.

16

FIRST SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME

July 31 (August 13)

I shall in the first place mention a detail that came up during the debate. Comrade Yegorov expressed regret that there was no report which might have considerably facilitated and directed our whole debate. Since it was I who was suggested as reporter, I shall, in a manner of speaking, have to defend myself for the absence of a report. And I shall say in my defence that I have a report: it is my reply to Comrade X,* which, in fact, replies to the most widespread of the objections and misunderstandings aroused by our agrarian programme, and has been distributed to all the Congress delegates. A report is no less a report for having been printed and distributed to the delegates instead of being delivered by word of mouth.

I shall now pass to the contents of the speeches by those who, unfortunately, have disregarded this particular report of mine. Comrade Martynov, for example, failed even to take account of the earlier literature on our agrarian programme, when he spoke again and again about redressing a historical injustice, of a needless reversion to forty years back, of the destruction of the feudalism of the sixties, rather than that of today, and so on. In replying to these arguments, I shall have to repeat what I have said before. If we acted *s o l e l y* on the principle of "redressing a historical injustice", we would be guiding ourselves by nothing but democratic phraseology. But we refer to the survivals

* See pp. 438-53 of this volume.—*Ed.*

of serf-ownership which *exist* around us, to present-day realities, to what is today hampering and retarding the proletariat's struggle for emancipation. We are accused of reverting to the hoary past. This accusation reveals only an ignorance of the most generally known facts regarding the activities of Social-Democrats in all countries. One of the aims they set themselves and work for everywhere is *to complete what the bourgeoisie has left unfinished*. That is what we are doing. And in order to do so, we have unavoidably to revert to the past; and that is what the Social-Democrats in every country are doing, always reverting to *their* 1789, or to *their* 1848. Similarly, the Russian Social-Democrats *cannot but revert to their* 1861, and must do so all the more energetically and frequently since our so-called peasant "Reform" has achieved so little in the way of democratic changes.

As to Comrade Gorin, he too is guilty of the common error of forgetting the serf bondage that actually exists. Comrade Gorin says that "hope of getting the cut-off lands perforce keeps the small peasant bound to an anti-proletarian ideology". Actually, however, it is not "hope" that he will get the cut-off lands, but the *present* cut-off lands themselves that forcibly maintain serf bondage, and there is no way out of this bondage, out of these serf forms of land leasing, except by converting the pseudo-tenants into free owners.

Lastly, Comrade Yegorov asked the authors of the programme what the programme signified. Is the programme, he asked, a conclusion drawn from our basic conceptions of the economic evolution of Russia, a scientific anticipation of the possible and inevitable result of political changes (in which case Comrade Yegorov might agree with us)? Or is our programme a practical slogan for agitation? In that case we could not beat the record of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and the programme must be regarded as incorrect. I must say that I do not understand the distinction Comrade Yegorov draws. If our programme did not meet the first condition, it would be incorrect and we could not accept it. If, however, the programme is correct, it cannot but furnish a slogan of practical value for purposes of agitation. The contradiction between Comrade Yegorov's two alternatives is

only a seeming one; it cannot exist in fact, because a correct theoretical decision *guarantees* enduring success in agitation. And it is for enduring success that we are working, not in the least disconcerted by temporary reverses.

Comrade Lieber likewise repeated objections long ago refuted; he was astonished at the "meagreness" of our programme and demanded "radical reforms" in the agrarian sphere as well. Comrade Lieber has forgotten the difference between the democratic and the socialist parts of the programme: what he has taken for "meagreness" is the absence of anything socialistic in the democratic programme. He has failed to notice that the socialist part of our agrarian programme is to be found elsewhere, namely in the section on the workers, which also applies to agriculture. Only Socialist-Revolutionaries, with their characteristic lack of principle, are capable of confusing, as they constantly do, democratic and socialistic demands. But the party of the proletariat is in duty bound to separate and distinguish between them in the strictest fashion.

17

SECOND SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME

August 1 (14)

Before passing to details, I want to object to certain general statements, and in the first place to those of Comrade Martynov. Comrade Martynov says that it is not the feudalism of the past we must combat, but the feudalism that exists today. That is true, but let me remind you of my reply to X. The latter referred to Saratov Gubernia. I have consulted the data for that gubernia and found that the cut-off lands there amount to 600,000 dessiatines, i.e., two-fifths of the total land held by the peasants under serfdom, while the rented land amounts to 900,000 dessiatines. Consequently, two-thirds of the rented land consists of cut-off lands. That means that we are out to restore two-thirds of the land held in tenure. Hence it is not a ghost we are fighting, but a real evil. We would arrive at the state of affairs which exists in Ireland, where the present peasant reform was required, which is turning the tenant farmers into small owners. The analogy between Ireland and Russia was already pointed out by the Narodniks in their economic literature. Comrade Gorin says that the measure I propose is not the best; that it would be better to turn the peasants into free tenant farmers. But he is mistaken in thinking that it could be better to turn semi-free tenants into free tenants. We are not inventing a transition, but are proposing one that would bring the land tenure laws into conformity with the actually existing conditions of land tenure, thereby abolishing the bondage relations that esist today. Martynov says that it is not our demands

that are meagre, but the principle from which they are derived. But that is like the arguments the Socialist-Revolutionaries bring against us. We are pursuing two qualitatively different aims in the countryside: firstly, we want to achieve freedom for bourgeois relations; secondly, we want to conduct the proletarian struggle. Despite the Socialist-Revolutionaries' prejudices, it is our task to show the peasants where the revolutionary proletarian task of the peasant proletariat begins. Comrade Kostrov's objections are therefore groundless. We are told that the peasants will not be satisfied with our programme and will go further. But we are not afraid of that; we have our socialist programme for that eventuality, and consequently are not afraid even of a redistribution of the land, which terrifies Comrades Makhov and Kostrov[141] so much.

I conclude. Comrade Yegorov has called our reliance on the peasants chimerical. No! We are not carried away; we are sufficiently sceptical, and that is why we say to the peasant proletarian: "Now you are fighting by the side of the peasant bourgeoisie, but you must always be prepared to fight against that same bourgeoisie, and you will wage that fight together with the urban industrial proletarians."

In 1852 Marx said that the peasants had judgement as well as prejudices. And now, when we point out to the poor peasants the cause of their poverty, we may count on success. We believe that, since the Social-Democrats have now taken up the struggle for the interests of the peasants, we shall in future be reckoning with the fact that the peasant masses will get used to looking upon Social-Democracy as the defender of their interests.

18

THIRD SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME

August 1 (14)

There is nothing for Comrade Lieber to be surprised at. He demands of us a single general criterion, but there is no such criterion. Sometimes one demand has to be made, at other times another. We have no stereotyped standards. Lieber claims that our demand for the abolition of serf-ownership coincides with the liberals' demands. But the liberals do not say how this demand is to be carried out. We, for our part, say that it must be carried out not by the bureaucracy, but by the oppressed classes, and that means the way of revolution. Therein lies the fundamental difference between us and the liberals, whose talk about changes and reforms "pollutes" the minds of the people. If we were to set forth in detail all the demands for the abolition of serf-ownership, we should fill whole volumes. That is why we mention only the more important forms and varieties of serfdom, and leave it to our committees in the various localities to draw up and advance their particular demands in development of the general programme. Trotsky's remark to the effect that we cannot concern ourselves with local demands is wrong, for the question of the *khizani* and the temporarily bound peasants[142] is not only a local one. Moreover, it is known in agrarian literature.

19

FOURTH SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME

August 1 (14)

Comrade Lieber proposes deletion of the clause on the cut-off lands, on the sole grounds that he does not like the peasant committees. That is strange. Since we have agreed on the fundamental question—that the cut-off lands keep the peasants in bondage—the formation of committees is only a secondary matter, and to reject the whole clause on account of that would be illogical. It is strange, too, to hear the question as to how we are to influence the peasant committees. I hope that the Social-Democrats will then find it easier to arrange congresses, and will there decide how to act in each particular case.

20

FIRST SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE PARTY RULES

August 2 (15)

Lenin delivers a brief speech in support of his formulation, emphasising in particular its stimulating effect: "Organise!" It should not be imagined that Party organisations must consist solely of professional revolutionaries. We need the most diverse organisations of all types, ranks and shades, beginning with extremely limited and secret and ending with very broad, free, *lose Organisationen*. Its endorsement by the Central Committee is an essential condition for a Party organisation.

21

SECOND SPEECH IN THE DISCUSSION ON THE PARTY RULES

August 2 (15)

I should like first of all to make two remarks on minor points. First, on the subject of Axelrod's kind proposal (I am not speaking ironically) to "strike a bargain". I would willingly respond to this appeal, for I by no means consider our difference so vital as to be a matter of life or death to the Party. We shall certainly not perish because of an unfortunate clause in the Rules! But since it has come to the point of choosing between *two* formulations, I simply cannot abandon my firm conviction that Martov's formulation is *worse* than the original draft and *may*, in certain circumstances, cause no little harm to the Party. The second remark concerns Comrade Brucker.[143] It is only natural for Comrade Brucker, who wishes to apply the elective principle everywhere, to have accepted my formulation, the only one that defines at all exactly the concept of a Party *member*. I therefore fail to understand Comrade Martov's delight at Comrade Brucker's agreement with me. Is it possible that in actual fact Comrade Martov makes a point of *guiding* himself by the opposite of what Brucker says, without examining his motives and arguments?

To come to the main subject, I must say that Comrade Trotsky has completely misunderstood Comrade Plekhanov's fundamental idea, and his arguments have therefore evaded the gist of the matter. He has spoken of intellectuals and workers, of the class point of view and of the mass movement, but he has failed to notice a basic question: does my formulation narrow or expand the concept of a Party

member? If he had asked himself that question, he would easily have seen that my formulation narrows this concept, while Martov's expands it, for (to use Martov's own correct expression) what distinguishes his concept is its "elasticity". And in the period of Party life that we are now passing through it is just this "elasticity" that undoubtedly opens the door to all elements of confusion, vacillation, and opportunism. To refute this simple and obvious conclusion it has to be proved that there are no such elements; but it has not even occurred to Comrade Trotsky to do that. Nor can that be proved, for everyone knows that such elements exist in plenty, and that they are to be found in the working class too. The need to safeguard the firmness of the Party's line and the purity of its principles has now become particularly urgent, for, with the restoration of its unity, the Party will recruit into its ranks a great many unstable elements, whose number will increase with the growth of the Party. Comrade Trotsky completely misinterpreted the main idea of my book, *What Is to Be Done?*, when he spoke about the Party not being a conspiratorial organisation (many others too raised this objection). He forgot that in my book I propose a number of various types of organisations, from the most secret and most exclusive to comparatively broad and "loose" (*lose*) organisations.* He forgot that the Party must be only the vanguard, the leader of the vast masses of the working class, the whole (or nearly the whole) of which works "under the control and direction" of the Party organisations, but the whole of which does not and should not belong to a "party". Now let us see what conclusions Comrade Trotsky arrives at in consequence of his fundamental mistake. He has told us here that if rank after rank of workers were arrested, and all the workers were to declare that they did not belong to the Party, our Party would be a strange one indeed! Is it not the other way round? Is it not Comrade Trotsky's argument that is strange? He regards as something sad that which a revolutionary with any experience at all would only rejoice at. If hundreds and thousands of workers who were arrested for taking part in strikes and demonstrations did not prove

* See present edition, Vol. 5.—*Ed.*

to be members of Party organisations, it would only show that we have good organisations, and that we are fulfilling our task of keeping a more or less limited circle of leaders secret and of drawing the broadest possible masses into the movement.

The root of the mistake made by those who stand for Martov's formulation is that they not only ignore one of the main evils of our Party life, but even sanctify it. The evil is that, at a time when political discontent is almost universal, when conditions require our work to be carried on in complete secrecy, and when most of our activities have to be confined to limited, secret circles and even to private meetings, it is extremely difficult, almost impossible in fact, for us to distinguish those who only talk from those who do the work. There is hardly another country in the world where the jumbling of these two categories is as common and as productive of such boundless confusion and harm as in Russia. We are suffering sorely from this evil not only among the intelligentsia, but also among the working class, and Comrade Martov's formulation sanctions it. This formulation necessarily tends to make Party members of *all and sundry*; Comrade Martov himself was forced to admit this, although with a reservation: "Yes, if you like," he said. But that is precisely what we do not like! And that is precisely why we are so adamant in our opposition to Martov's formulation. It would be better if ten who do work should not call themselves Party members (real workers don't hunt after titles!) than that one who only talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member. That is a principle which seems to me irrefutable, and which compels me to fight against Martov. The objection has been presented to me that we confer no rights on Party members, and that therefore there can be no abuses. This kind of objection is quite untenable: if we do not state what particular rights a Party member enjoys, please note that neither do we say that there is to be any restriction on the rights of Party members. That is point one. Secondly—and this is the main point—irrespective even of rights, we must not forget that every Party member is responsible for the Party, and that *the Party is responsible for every one of its members*. In view of the conditions in

which we have to carry on our political activities, in view of the present rudimentary state of real political organisation, it would be simply dangerous and harmful to grant the right of membership to people who are not members of a Party organisation and to make the Party responsible for people who do not belong to an organisation (perhaps deliberately). Comrade Martov was horrified at the idea that one who is not a member of a Party organisation will have no right to declare in court that he is a Party member, however energetically he may have done his work. That does not frighten me. On the contrary, serious harm would be done if a person who calls himself a Party member, even though he does not belong to any Party organisation, were to behave unworthily in court. It would be impossible to deny that such a person was working under the control and direction of the organisation—impossible because of the very vagueness of the term. Actually—and there can be no doubt about this—the words "under the control and direction" will mean that *there will be neither control nor direction*. The Central Committee will never be able to exercise real control over all who do the work but do not belong to organisations. It is our task to place *actual* control in the hands of the Central Committee. It is our task to safeguard the firmness, consistency, and purity of our Party. We must strive to raise the title and the significance of a Party member higher, higher and still higher—and I therefore oppose Martov's formulation.

22

SPEECH AT THE ELECTION OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *ISKRA*

August 7 (20)[144]

Comrades! Martov's speech was so strange that I find myself obliged to protest emphatically against his presentation of the question. In the first place, let me remind you that Martov's protest against the editorial board election itself, his refusal, and that of his colleagues, to work on the editorial board which is to be elected, is in crying contradiction to what we all said (Martov included) when *Iskra* was recognised as the Party organ. The objection was then presented to us that such recognition was pointless because you cannot endorse a mere title without endorsing the editorial board; and Comrade Martov himself explained to the objectors that *this was not true*, that it was a definite political trend that was being endorsed, that the composition of the editorial board was *not being predetermined* in any way, and that the election of the editors would come up later under Point 24* of our *Tagesordnung*** Comrade Martov, therefore, had *no right whatever* now to speak about the recognition of *Iskra* being limited. Comrade Martov's statement that his inclusion in the trio without his old colleagues of the editorial board would cast a slur on his whole political reputation is therefore indicative only of an *astounding confusion of political ideas*. To adopt this point of view is to deny the right of the Congress to hold new

* During the Congress it was changed to Point 18 on the agenda.—*Ed.*

** Agenda.—*Ed.*

elections, make new appointments of any kind, and change the composition of its authorised boards. The Organising Committee provides an example of the confusion created by such an approach. We expressed to the Organising Committee the complete confidence and gratitude of the Congress but at the same time we ridiculed the very idea of the Congress having no right to examine the internal relations of the Organising Committee, and rejected every supposition that the old composition of the Organising Committee would be an embarrassment to an "uncomradely" change of this composition and the formation of a *new* Central Committee of any elements we pleased. I repeat: Comrade Martov's views on the permissibility of electing *part* of the old board reflect an extreme confusion of political ideas.

I now come to the question of the two trios. Comrade Martov said that this whole plan for two trios was the work of one person, of one member of the editorial board (that it was my plan, in fact), and that no one else was responsible for it. I *categorically protest* against this assertion and declare that it is *simply untrue*. Let me remind Comrade Martov that several weeks before the Congress I plainly told him and another member of the editorial board that at the Congress I would *demand* the *free election* of the editorial board. I gave up this plan only because *Comrade Martov himself* suggested to me the more convenient plan of electing *two trios*. I thereupon formulated this plan on paper and sent it *first of all* to Comrade Martov himself, who returned it to me with some corrections—here it is, I have the very copy, with Martov's corrections in red ink. Many of the comrades later saw this plan dozens of times, all the members of the editorial board saw it too, and *no one at any time* formally protested against it. I say "formally" because, if I am not mistaken, Comrade Axelrod on one occasion dropped some private remark to the effect that he did not sympathise with the plan. But it is obvious that for a protest the editorial board required something more than a private remark. It was not without reason that, even before the Congress, the editorial board adopted a formal decision to invite a definite *seventh* person, so that, should it be necessary to make a collective statement at the Congress, a firm decision could be made—which we so often

failed to reach on our board of six. And *all the members of the editorial board know* that the addition of a seventh permanent member to the board of six was a matter of constant concern to us for a very long time. And so, I repeat, the election of "two trios" was a perfectly natural solution, and one which I incorporated in my plan *with the knowledge and consent* of Comrade Martov. And on many subsequent occasions, Comrade Martov, together with Comrade Trotsky and others, at a number of private meetings of *Iskra* supporters, advocated this system of electing two trios.

However, in correcting Martov's statement about the private character of the plan for "two trios," I have no intention of denying Martov's assertion of the "political significance" of the step we took in not endorsing the old editorial board. On the contrary, I fully and unreservedly agree with Comrade Martov that this step is of great political significance—only not the significance which Martov ascribes to it. He said that it was an act in a struggle for influence on the Central Committee in Russia. I go farther than Martov. The whole activity of *Iskra* as a separate group has hitherto been a *struggle* for influence; but now it is a matter of something more, namely, the *organisational consolidation* of this influence, and not only a struggle for it. How profoundly Comrade Martov and I differ *politically* on this point is shown by the fact that he *blames* me for this wish to influence the Central Committee, whereas I count it *to my credit* that I strove and still strive to consolidate this influence by organisational means. It appears that we are even talking in different languages! What would be the point of all our work, of all our efforts, if they ended in the same old struggle for influence, and not in its complete acquisition and consolidation? Yes, Comrade Martov is absolutely right: the step we have taken is undoubtedly *a major political step* showing that one of the trends now to be observed has been chosen for the future work of our Party. And I am not at all frightened by the dreadful words a "state of siege in the Party", "emergency laws against particular individuals and groups", etc. We not only can but we must create a "state of siege" in relation to unstable and vacillating elements, and all our Party

Rules, the whole system of centralism now endorsed by the Congress are nothing but a "state of siege" in respect to the numerous sources of *political vagueness*. It is special laws, even if they are emergency laws, that are needed as measures against vagueness, and the step taken by the Congress has correctly indicated the political direction to be followed, by having created a firm basis for *such* laws and *such* measures.

23

SPEECH ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STUDENT YOUTH

August 10 (23)

It is not only by reactionaries that the expression "false friends" is used; we know from the example of the liberals and Socialist-Revolutionaries that such "false friends" do exist. It is these false friends that are trying to persuade the youth that they have no need to distinguish between different trends. We, on the contrary, consider it the main task to develop an integral revolutionary world outlook, and the practical task for the future is to get the youth, when they are organising themselves, to apply to our committees.

AN ERA OF REFORMS

Yes, we are undoubtedly passing through an era of reforms, strange as these words may sound when applied to present-day Russia. There is stagnation in all spheres of home policy, except where these are linked up with the fight against the internal enemy, and despite this—or, to be more exact, precisely because of this—constant and unceasing efforts are being made to institute reforms, attempts at reforms in the sphere of the most critical and most salient social and political relations. The proletariat, which is awakening to class-conscious life, came forward fairly long ago as the real, the main, as the only irreconcilable foe of our autocratic police regime. However, an enemy such as the foremost social class cannot be fought with force alone, even with the most ruthless, best organised, and most thorough-going force. Such an enemy makes itself reckoned with and compels concessions, which, though they are always insincere, always half-hearted, often spurious and illusory, and usually hedged round with more or less subtly hidden traps, are nevertheless concessions, reforms that mark a whole era. Of course, these are not the reforms that denote a down-grade in political development, when a crisis has passed, the storm has abated, and those who have been left masters of the situation proceed to give effect to their own programme, or (as also happens) the programme taken over from their opponents. No, these are the reforms of an up-grade, when ever greater masses are being drawn into struggle, when the crisis is still in the offing, when every clash, in which hundreds of victims are carried off the field of battle, produces thousands of new fighters who are even grimmer, bolder, and better trained.

Such reforms are always foretokens and precursors of revolution. The recent measures partly effected and partly only projected by the tsarist government are indubitably of this nature, viz., the Bill on workers' mutual aid societies (this Bill has not been made public by the government and is known only from reports in the liberal bourgeois *Osvobozhdeniye*), the laws on compensation for injured workers and on factory stewards. It is on this latter law that we now propose to dwell in greater detail.

The gist of the new law is that, under certain circumstances, the workers may have the right to representation in their relations with the employers, the right to certain rudiments of organisation. These rights are circumscribed by an incredible number of police regulations, restrictions, and qualifications. And indeed, it is first of all necessary to take into consideration that, according to the new law, the right of the workers to representation depends on the consent and initiative of the factory management and on the permission of the Boards for Factory and Mining Affairs. The right to representation *may* be accorded the workers by the factory owners, but they are in no way bound to do so under this law, besides which the Factory Board may refuse to permit representation, even if requested by the employer, on any grounds or even on no grounds whatever. Hence, from the very outset, the right of the *workers* to representation has been completely, unconditionally, and conclusively left to the discretion of the *employers and the police*. If it appears advantageous and desirable to the employers and the police, they may set up workers' representative bodies (on a very restricted basis)—that is the substance of the reform. I would add parenthetically that the law makes no mention whatever of workers' representation at government factories: at privately owned factories the workers' representatives *may* turn out to be new agents, new factory watchmen controlled by the police; at government factories there is always a sufficient number of agents and watchmen! The police do not ask for a reform in this field—hence, reform is not necessary here.

Further, workers' representation itself has been given an ugly twist. The workers are to be disunited, divided into *categories*; the regulations governing the division into

categories are subject to approval by the *governor*, as are *all regulations in general* that have any bearing on the organisation of representative bodies under the new law. The manufacturers and the police can and of course will arrange the categories in such a way as to hinder workers' solidarity and unity in every way possible, rouse and inflame discord not only among the various crafts and shops but also among workers of different nationalities, sex, age groups, degrees of skill, wage levels, etc., etc. Workers' representation can be and is useful to the workers exclusively in their uniting in a single body, for their unity, organisation and solidarity are the only source of strength to the downtrodden, oppressed wage-slaves of our civilisation, ground down as they are by toil. The tsarist autocracy wants to give the workers representation of *such* a kind and on *such* terms as to *disunite* them in every way possible and thus make them powerless.

The police-established categories will have to elect *candidates* for the post of steward on the basis of detailed police rules, the number of candidates to be designated by the police. The factory management will endorse one of the candidates at its own discretion, while the governor always has the right to remove any steward who "does not meet the requirements of his office", as the law puts it.

This whole police scheme is not so very subtle! The "office" of a steward obviously consists in being useful to the police, in being acceptable to them. The law says nothing about this, for such conditions are not spoken of; they are *engineered*. And it is more than simple to engineer this, once the governor, who is the head of the local police, is given the unrestricted right to remove an undesirable steward. Once again: would it not be more correct to call such a factory steward a factory watchman? The police can decide on the election of a very large number of candidates, of whom only one will be endorsed; for example, each category of say 50 to 100 people will be told to vote for 5 or 10 candidates. Will it not be possible in some cases to turn the list of elected candidates into a list of people to be kept under special surveillance or even subject to arrest? Formerly such lists were drawn up only by spies; but now will they not *perhaps* sometimes be drawn up by the workers

themselves? To the police there is nothing dangerous or even inconvenient in a list of candidates, since it is always the worst of them that will be endorsed, or no one at all, and new elections will be ordered.

In its effort to have the factory stewards meet the requirements of their police "office", the new law (like the majority of the Russian laws) has even overdone things. Candidates must not be under 25 years of age. The original Bill proposed a minimum age of 21; higher government circles deemed it more cautious and statesmanlike to raise it by four years so as to eliminate in advance "the most unruly elements of the industrial population", which, "according to information in possession of the Department of Police, are within the 17-20 age group" (from the explanatory motives of the Ministry of Finance, published in abridged form in *Vestnik Finansov*, and in full in *Osvobozhdeniye*). But that is not all. The factory management and the police may, in each particular instance, i.e., for each separate establishment, demand, firstly, a higher minimum age and, secondly, a certain length of service of the particular worker in the factory. It is, for example, possible that they may demand a minimum age of 40 and a service record of not less than 15 years as a condition for the right to be elected as candidate for the post of steward! There is one thing, however, to which the authors of this law, who so zealously safeguarded the interests of the police, did not apparently give sufficient thought: under such conditions will workers be at all eager to accept this "post" of steward? After all, the steward will be placed almost as much at the arbitrary disposal of the police as a mere village constable. The steward may be turned into an ordinary messenger boy, conveying the orders and explanations of the factory management to the workers. The steward will undoubtedly be required to render sheer spying services and to give accounts of the meetings of the workers' categories which are called by him and for the orderly conduct of which he is responsible. And yet, while providing for rules about stewards being released from work to perform their duties, the law maintains a modest silence as to whether the stewards are to receive remuneration, and if so from whom. Do the authors of this law really

think that stewards who have been released from work will not demand pay from the factory for this "free" time? Would they really serve as stewards, at the will of the manufacturers and governors, out of sheer love for these true friends of the working people?

The desire to turn stewards into factory watchmen is particularly evident also in Clause 3 of the new law: stewards are recognised as being representatives empowered to speak for the workers' categories only on matters concerning *fulfilment* of the terms of hire. When it comes to changing the terms of hire the stewards *have no right even to hint* at this! Fine workers' "representatives" indeed. And how absurd this ruling is, even from the standpoint of the authors of the law, who wanted to make it easier "to ascertain the true desires and needs of the workers" "particularly at a time when discontent and unrest have already arisen". In nine cases out of ten, unrest is the result of this very demand to *change* the terms of hire, and to bar the stewards from taking a hand in this matter is tantamount to reducing their role to practically nil. The authors of the law have become entangled in one of the countless contradictions of the autocracy, for to accord the workers' representatives (their genuine representatives, and not representatives by permission of the police) the right to demand changes in the terms of hire would mean granting them freedom of speech and inviolability of the person.

In general there can be no question of regarding the factory stewards as genuine representatives of the workers. Representatives must be elected only by the workers, without any endorsement by the police. A representative must be removed as soon as the workers who elected him pass a vote of non-confidence in him. A representative must render an account to a meeting of the workers whenever they demand this of him. According to our law, however, the steward alone is *authorised* to convene the workers of the category which has elected him, and, besides, this must be done when and where the factory management wants it. In other words, the steward is not obliged to call the workers together, and the management does not have to provide the time and the place. It would perhaps be more expedient not to talk about workers' representation at all than to

annoy the workers with this mere pretence of representation.

Workers' meetings inspire the autocracy with such fear (and a justified fear) that it categorically bans joint meetings of the various categories. "For the discussion of matters concerning several categories," the new law decrees, "the stewards of these categories alone shall meet." For the capitalists, and for the police government which protects them, it would indeed be extremely advantageous to set up numerically small categories of foremen, office employees, and highly paid workers, to set up numerically large categories of unskilled workers and ordinary workers—and then to permit meetings only of the stewards of different categories. But this means reckoning *without the real master*: the class-conscious proletariat is the master of its own fate and it will spurn these miserable police partitions in which they would segregate it. The workers will meet together to discuss their own affairs and will organise secret meetings of their own, genuine, Social-Democratic stewards, despite all bans.

But if this miserable reform to such a degree infects the embryo of workers' representation with a spirit of police espionage, would it not be better for the class-conscious workers to have nothing whatever to do with the election of factory stewards or the meetings of the "categories"? We believe that it would not. Refusal to take an active part in present-day political life, however disgusting it may be, is the tactic of anarchists, not of Social-Democrats. We shall and must be able to promote a widespread struggle of the workers against every loathsome trap in the new law, against every spying manoeuvre made with the help of the new law—and this fight will rouse the most backward workers, and will develop the political consciousness of all who take part in the Russian workers-police-gendarme-spy "representation". The Zubatov meetings corrupted workers' minds far more and much more directly than their minds will be corrupted by stewards who kowtow to the authorities, and yet we sent to those meetings class-conscious, workers who themselves learned and taught others, and yet this entire Zubatov epic ended in a miserable fiasco, after working to the advantage of Social-Democracy far more

than to that of the autocracy: the Odessa events[145] have left no shadow of doubt on that score.

The autocracy is beginning to talk about workers' meetings. Let us take advantage of this for the widest propaganda and agitation in support of the Social-Democratic demands for the full freedom of meetings and assembly. The autocracy is beginning to talk of elections; let us take advantage of this to acquaint the working masses with the meaning of elections, with all systems of elections, with all the tricks of the police during elections. And let the workers know this not only from books and talks, but from practice, from the example of the Russian, police-controlled elections, and by participating in these elections,* the class-conscious workers will teach ever greater masses to carry on election agitation, conduct meetings, defend their demands both at meetings and before the stewards, and organise a constant watch over the activities of the stewards. The autocracy is talking about workers' representation. Let us take advantage of this to spread correct ideas about genuine representation. Only a free *workers' union*, with members in many factories and many cities, can represent the workers. Factory representation, bodies representing the workers at each factory separately, cannot satisfy the workers even in the West, even in the free states. The leaders of the Social-Democratic Labour Party, in Germany, for example, have frequently protested against factory representation. And this can be readily understood, for the yoke of capital is too heavy, and the right to dismiss workers—the sacred right of capitalist free contract—will *always* render the representative body of the workers in each individual factory powerless. Only a workers' union which organises the workers of many factories and many localities will do away with dependence of the workers' representatives on the individual factory owner. Only a workers' union will provide all the means of struggle that can at all possibly exist under capitalism. But free workers' unions are out of the question unless we have *political liberty*, inviolability of the person, freedom of assembly

* Naturally, organised workers should in no case be elected to the post of steward; suitable people from among the unorganised masses should be put forward as candidates.

and meetings, and the right freely to elect deputies to a national assembly.

Without political liberty all forms of workers' representation will remain a miserable fraud, and the proletariat will remain in prison as hitherto, without light, without air, and without the elbow-room it needs for the struggle to attain its complete emancipation. In this prison the government is now cutting a tiny aperture instead of a window, and in such a manner that this aperture is of more use to the gendarmes and spies who guard the prisoners than it is to the prisoners themselves. And this is the reform that the butchers of the Russian people want to pass off as a benefaction of the tsarist government! But the Russian working class will use this aperture to build up fresh energy for battle; it will raze to the ground the walls of the accursed all-Russian prison and win for itself free class representation in a bourgeois-democratic state.

Iskra, No. 46, August 15, 1903

Published according to the *Iskra* text

THE LATEST WORD IN BUNDIST NATIONALISM

The Foreign Committee of the Bund has just issued a bulletin containing a report on the Fifth Congress of the Bund, which took place in June (Old Style). Preponderant among its resolutions are the "draft Rules" on the position of the Bund in the Party. This draft is highly instructive, and from the angle of definiteness and "resoluteness" of content, nothing better could be desired. Strictly speaking, the first paragraph of the draft is so striking as to reduce all the others to mere explanation or even to entirely useless ballast. "The Bund," declares § 1, "is a *federative* [italics ours] section of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party." Federation presupposes an *agreement* between separate, entirely independent units, which define their mutual relations only by voluntary consent of the sides concerned. It is not surprising, therefore, that the "draft Rules" speak repeatedly of the "*contracting parties*" (§§ 3, 8, 12). It is not surprising that, on the basis of this draft, the *Party Congress* is not given the right to alter, supplement or delete *Rules* relating to a *section* of the Party. Neither is it surprising that the Bund reserves to itself "representation" in the Central Committee of the Party and permits this Central Committee of the Party to address itself to the Jewish proletariat and to communicate with individual sections of the Bund "*only with the consent of the Central Committee of the Bund*". All this logically stems from the concept of "federation", from the concept of "contracting parties", and had the Fifth Congress of the Bund simply resolved that the Bund is to be constituted as an independent Social-Democratic national (or, perhaps, nationalist Social-Democratic?) party, it would have saved itself

(and others) much time, much labour, and much paper. On the one hand, it would have been clear at once without any circumlocution that an independent, separate party could determine its relations with other parties only as a "contracting party" and only on the basis of "mutual consent". There would have been no need to enumerate every individual case when such consent will be required (and it is impossible in fact to enumerate *all* such cases, while to give an incomplete list, as the Bund does, is to open the door to a host of misunderstandings). There would have been no need to do violence to logic and conscience by calling an agreement between two independent units Rules on the position of one section of the party. This apparently seemly and suitable name ("Rules on the Position of the Bund in the Party") is all the more false in essence since the entire Party has in fact not yet restored its full organisational unity, while the Bund comes out as an already united section, which wishes to take advantage of the shortcomings in the general organisation in order to get still farther away from the whole, *in order to try and split up this whole into small parts for all time.*

On the other hand, a straightforward treatment of the matter would have relieved the authors of the notorious draft Rules of the necessity to introduce clauses providing for rights already possessed by *every* organised section of the Party, every district organisation, every committee and every group, e.g., the right to solve, in accordance with the Party programme, general problems on which Party congresses have not adopted decisions. To write Rules including clauses such as these is simply ridiculous.

Let us now appraise in essence the stand taken by the Bund. Once it has stepped on to the inclined plane of nationalism, the Bund (if it did not wish to renounce its basic mistake) was naturally and inevitably bound to arrive at the formation of a particular Jewish party. And this is precisely the direct object of § 2 of the Rules, which grants the Bund the *monopoly* of representing the Jewish proletariat. According to this paragraph, the Bund is in the Party as its (the Jewish proletariat's) *sole* (italics ours) representative. The activities of the Bund and the organisation of the Bund are not to be restricted by any territorial

limits. Consequently, complete separation and demarcation of the Jewish and non-Jewish proletariat of Russia is not only here effected *to the end* with absolute consistency, but is endorsed by what may be called a notarial agreement, by "Rules", by a "basic" law (see § 12 of the draft). Such "outrageous" facts as the audacious appeal of the Ekaterinoslav Committee of the Party to the Jewish workers directly, not through the medium of the Bund (which had no special organisation in Ekaterinoslav at the time!), should henceforth become impossible, according to the idea of the new draft. However few the number of Jewish workers may be in a given locality, however far away this locality may be from the centres of the Bundist organisation, no section of the Party, not even the Central Committee of the Party, dare address itself to the Jewish proletariat without the consent of the Central Committee of the Bund! It is hard to believe that such a proposal could have been made, so monstrous is this demand for monopoly, especially in our Russian conditions, but §§ 2 and 8 (footnote) of the draft Rules leave no doubts whatever on this score. The desire of the Bund to shift still farther away from the Russian comrades is apparent not only in each clause of the draft, but is also expressed in other resolutions of the congress. For example, the Fifth Congress has resolved to publish once a month *Posledniye Izvestia*, issued by the Foreign Committee of the Bund, "in the form of a newspaper which would explain the programmatic and tactical position of the Bund". We shall be looking forward with impatience and interest to an explanation of this position. The congress has *annulled* the resolution of the Fourth Congress on work in the south. It is known that the Fourth Congress of the Bund decided that "*separate committees of the Bund shall not be set up*" (italicised by the Bund) in the towns and cities in the south, where the Jewish organisations are included in the Party committees. The reversal of this decision is a big step towards further isolation, a direct challenge to the comrades from the south, who have been working and wanted to work among the Jewish proletariat, while remaining inseparably connected with the local proletariat *as a whole*. "He who says A must say B"; one who has adopted the standpoint of nationalism naturally arrives at the desire to erect a Chinese Wall

around his nationality, his national working-class movement; he is unembarrassed even by the fact that it would mean building separate walls in each city, in each little town and village, unembarrassed even by the fact that by his tactics of division and dismemberment *he is reducing to nil* the great call for the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations, all races and all languages. And what bitter mockery sounds in the resolution of the same Fifth Congress of the Bund on pogroms, which expresses the "confidence that *only the joint struggle* of the proletarians of all nationalities will abolish the conditions giving rise to events similar to those at Kishinev"[146] (italics ours). How false these words about joint struggle sound when we are treated at the very same time to "Rules" which not only keep the joint fighters *far apart*, but strengthen this separation and alienation through organisational means! I should like very much to give the Bund nationalists a piece of advice: learn from those Odessa workers who went on a joint strike and attended joint meetings and joint demonstrations, without first asking (ah, the audacity!) for the "consent" of the Central Committee of the Bund for an appeal to the Jewish nation, and who reassured the shopkeepers with the words (see *Iskra*, No. 45): "Have no fear, have no fear, this is not Kishinev for you, what we want is something else, we have neither Jews nor Russians in our midst, we are *all workers*, life is equally hard for us all." Let the comrades of the Bund ponder over these words, if it is not too late; let them think well about whither they are going!

Iskra, No. 46, August 15, 1903

Published according to the *Iskra* text

MARTOV'S CONTRADICTIONS AND ZIGZAGS

1. He lashed the Organising Committee for its vacillations and abrupt changes of front, for its quasi-*Iskra*-ism, but then brought the vacillators and quasi-*Iskra*-ists into the Central Committee.

2. He always defended *Iskra*'s ideas of organisation (*What Is to Be Done?*), but secured the incorporation of a Jaurèsist first clause in the Rules.

3. He agreed to the editorial board being reorganised into a trio, but then fought at the Congress for a board of six *quand même*.*

4. He fought against so-called "democratism", but insisted on "freedom" of co-optation to the central bodies.

Written at the end of August 1903

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Published according to the manuscript

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* All the same.—*Ed*.

NOTES

[1] The Party programme adopted at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903 was drawn up by the Editorial Board of Lenin's *Iskra* at the end of 1901 and the first half of 1902. V. I. Lenin played a prominent part in drawing up the draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P.

As early as 1895-96, while in prison, Lenin wrote the "Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social-Democratic Party" (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 93-121); at the end of 1899, while in exile in Siberia, he prepared a new draft programme (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 227-54). When he began publication of *Iskra*, Lenin considered its most important task to be the struggle to achieve and consolidate the ideological unity of Russian Social-Democracy and to embody this unity in the Party programme. "The discussion of questions of theory and policy," he wrote, "will be connected with the drafting of a Party programme..." (see present edition, Vol. 4, "Draft of a Declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*", p. 324).

The question of drawing up a draft of the Party programme became particularly acute in the summer of 1901: "They have written to us from Russia that there is increasing talk of a congress," V. I. Lenin wrote to P. B. Axelrod on July 9, 1901. "This once again impels us to think of a programme. The publication of a draft programme is *extremely* necessary and would be of tremendous importance" (see present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 87-88). On Lenin's suggestion, the original draft of the theoretical part of the programme was written by G. V. Plekhanov.

At a conference of the *Iskra* Editorial Board held in Munich in January 1902, Lenin sharply criticised Plekhanov's draft; he made over 30 notes, pointing out a series of propositions in the draft that were incorrect in principle (see pp. 17-24 of this volume). Under the influence of criticism by Lenin and other members of the Editorial Board, Plekhanov rewrote the first two paragraphs of his draft, but he did not agree with most of the other notes and proposals. During discussion of Plekhanov's draft by the *Iskra* Editorial Board, big differences of opinion were revealed; one of the most serious was evoked by Lenin's proposal to begin the programme by pointing to the development of capitalism in Russia; in notes written after the conference Lenin wrote: "The question whether or not to begin by pointing to Russia has been left open (3 votes in favour and 3 against)." (*Lenin Miscellany II*, 1924, p. 15.)

Convinced that Plekhanov's draft of the theoretical part of the programme was unacceptable, Lenin set about writing his own draft. The initial version of Lenin's draft (in the correspondence of the members of the *Iskra* Editorial Board—"Frey's draft") was written by January 25 (February 7), 1902; Lenin completed work on his draft by February 18 (March 3), 1902 (see pp. 25-31 and 32 of this volume). Simultaneously Plekhanov was also working on his second draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P. This too came in for serious critical analysis by Lenin (see pp. 35-55 and 56-58 of this volume). To co-ordinate Lenin's and Plekhanov's drafts of the programme and draw up a joint draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P. the *Iskra* Editorial Board set up a "Co-ordinating" Committee.

In its work this Committee took Plekhanov's draft as a basis. However, as a result of Lenin's insistent demands, a number of very important propositions were included in the Committee's draft: the thesis of the ousting of small-scale production by large-scale production replaced Plekhanov's indefinite and vague formulation; a definition more precise than in Plekhanov's draft was given of the purely proletarian character of the Party; the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an essential condition of the socialist revolution became a point of the highest importance in the programme. Lenin got acquainted with the Committee's draft programme on April 12, 1902, while travelling from Munich to London, and he wrote his remarks on it during the journey (see pp. 59-70 of this volume)

At the conference of the *Iskra* Editorial Board held in Zurich on April 14, 1902, which Lenin did not attend, the general editorial draft of the programme was confirmed: its theoretical part (the Committee's) and the practical Part (already agreed to by all the members of the *Iskra* Editorial Board in early March 1902). Most of the notes, amendments, and additions proposed by Lenin were taken into account by the authors of the draft programme, when it was discussed at the Zurich conference.

The draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P. drawn up by the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya* was published in *Iskra*, No. 21, June 1, 1902, and the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., held July 17-August 10 (July 30-August 23), 1903, adopted the *Iskra* draft programme of the Party, with minor changes.

The programme of the R.S.D.L.P. existed until 1919, when a new programme was adopted at the Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). The theoretical part of the programme of the R.S.D.L.P., which described the general laws and tendencies of capitalist development, was included in the new programme of the R.C.P.(B.) on V. I. Lenin's proposal. p. 15

[2] *The Erfurt Programme* of the German Social-Democratic Party was adopted in October 1891 at the Congress in Erfurt. Compared with the Gotha Programme (1875), it was a step forward, being based on the Marxist doctrine that the capitalist mode of production must inevitably yield place to the socialist; it stressed the need for the working class to wage a political struggle, indi-

cating the party's role as the organiser of this struggle, etc. However, the Erfurt Programme, too, contained serious concessions to opportunism. It was extensively criticised by Frederick Engels ("Criticism of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891"), this being in essence a criticism of the opportunism of the entire Second International, for whose parties the Erfurt Programme was a kind of model. However, the leadership of German Social-Democracy concealed Engels' criticism from the party rank and file, while his most important remarks were ignored when the final text of the programme was drawn up. V. I. Lenin and G. V. Plekhanov considered that the Erfurt Programme's silence on the dictatorship of the proletariat was its chief defect and a cowardly concession to opportunism. p. 19

[3] *Frey*—V. I. Lenin's pseudonym. p. 25

[4] *Collective liability* was a compulsory measure making the peasants of each village commune collectively liable for timely and full payments and for the fulfilment of all sorts of services to the state and the landlords (payment of taxes and land redemption instalments, provision of recruits for the army, etc.). This form of bondage was retained even after serfdom had been abolished, and remained in force until 1906. p. 30

[5] This refers to the following proposition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie." (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*—in three volumes,—Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 118.) p. 35

[6] Lenin is referring to Frederick Engels' article, "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891". p. 36

[7] *Russkiye Vedomosti* (Russian Recorder)—a newspaper published in Moscow from 1863 onwards; it expressed the views of the moderate liberal intelligentsia, and insisted on the need for reforms that would transform Russia into a constitutional monarchy. Among its contributors in the 1880s and 1890s were the democratic writers M. Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin, G. I. Uspensky, and V. G. Korolenko. It also published items written by liberal Narodniks. In 1905 it became the organ of the Right wing of the bourgeois Constitutional-Democratic (Cadet) Party. Lenin said that *Russkiye Vedomosti* was "a unique combination of *Right* Cadetism and Narodnik overtones" (see present edition, Vol. 19, p. 135). In 1918 the publication was closed down together with other counter-revolutionary newspapers. p. 41

[8] This refers to Karl Marx's *Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association* adopted on November 1, 1864, at

a meeting of the General Council of the First International, and the *General Rules of the International Working Men's Association* adopted in September 1871 by the London Conference of the First International, which took the *Provisional Rules* of the International as its basis (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, pp. 19-21). p. 47

[9] *The Mountain* (la Montagne) and the *Gironde* were the names of two political groupings of the bourgeoisie at the time of the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the eighteenth century. The Mountain—the Jacobins—was the name given to the more determined representatives of the revolutionary class of the time—the bourgeoisie—who advocated the abolition of absolutism and feudalism. Unlike the Jacobins, the Girondists wavered between revolution and counter-revolution, and entered into deals with the monarchy.

Lenin called the opportunist trend in Social-Democracy the "socialist Gironde," and the revolutionary Social-Democrats—"proletarian Jacobins," the "Mountain". After the R.S.D.L.P. split into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Lenin frequently stressed that the Mensheviks were the Girondist trend of the working-class movement. p. 48

[10] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 117-18. p. 49

[11] This refers to Frederick Engels' article, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", in which he criticised the agrarian programme of the Workers' Party of France, adopted at the Marseilles Party Congress in 1892 and enlarged at the Nantes Party Congress in 1894 (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 57-76). p. 49

[12] Frederick Engels, "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891". p. 50

[13] *Die Neue Zeit* (New Times)—a theoretical magazine of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. Before October 1917, it was edited by Karl Kautsky, later by Heinrich Cunow. Some of the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were first published in *Die Neue Zeit*: "Critique of the Gotha Programme" by Karl Marx (in No. 18, 1890-91) "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891" by Frederick Engels (in No. 1, 1901-02) and others. Engels constantly helped the Editorial Board of the magazine with his advise, and not infrequently criticised it for allowing deviations from Marxism to appear in it. Contributors to *Die Neue Zeit* included prominent leaders of the German and international working-class movement at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, such as August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, G. V. Plekhanov, Paul Lafar-

gue, and Victor Adler. From the second half of the nineties, the periodical began systematically publishing article by revisionists, including a series of articles by Eduard Bernstein entitled "Problems of Socialism", which opened the revisionists' campaign against Marxism. During the First World War the magazine adopted a Centrist, Kautskian position, in actual fact supporting the social-chauvinists. p. 50

[14] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 24. p. 52

[15] Frederick Engels, "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891". p. 52

[16] V. I. Lenin's remarks on the Committee's draft of the theoretical part of the programme were written in the margins and between the lines of the manuscript of the Committee's draft, and also on the backs of the manuscript pages. Particular points in the Committee's draft which Lenin singled out (by underlining, brackets, vertical lines in the margin, etc.) are underscored with fine lines. p. 59

[17] *Zarya* (Dawn)—a Marxist scientific and political magazine, was published in 1901-02 in Stuttgart by the *Iskra* Editorial Board Only four numbers (three books) of *Zarya* were issued: No. 1—in April 1901 (which actually appeared on March 23, New Style); No. 2-3—in December 1901; No. 4—in August 1902.

The tasks of *Zarya* were defined in the draft declaration of *Iskra* and *Zarya* which V. I. Lenin wrote in Russia (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 320-30). However, when the question of joint publication of these organs abroad was discussed with the Emancipation of Labour group, it was decided to publish *Zarya* legally and *Iskra* illegally; consequently there was no mention of *Zarya* in the declaration of the Editorial Board of *Iskra*, a declaration published in October 1900.

Zarya criticised international and Russian revisionism, and defended the theoretical principles of Marxism. It published V. I. Lenin's writings: "Casual Notes", "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism", "Messrs. the 'Critics' on the Agrarian Question" (the first four chapters of "The Agrarian Question and 'the Critics of Marx'"), "Review of Internal Affairs", "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy" and also G. V. Plekhanov's "Criticism of Our Critics. Part 1. Mr. Struve as Critic of Marx's Theory of Social Development", "Kant *versus* Kant, or Herr Bernstein's Spiritual Testament", and others. p. 70

[18] This refers to the third volume of Karl Marx's *Capital*. Below is a reference to the second volume of *Capital*. p. 73

[19] *Socialist-Revolutionaries* (S.R.s)—a petty-bourgeois party in Russia, which arose at the end of 1901 and beginning of 1902 as a

result of the union of Narodnik groups and circles. The newspaper *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (Revolutionary Russia) (1900-05) and the magazine *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii* (Herald of the Russian Revolution) (1901-05) became its official organs. The views of the Socialist-Revolutionaries were an eclectic mixture of the ideas of Narodism and revisionism, they tried, as Lenin put it, to patch up "the rents in the Narodnik ideas with bits of fashionable opportunist 'criticism' of Marxism" (see present edition, Vol. 9, p. 310). The Socialist-Revolutionaries did not see the class distinctions between proletariat and peasantry, glossed over the class differentiation and contradictions within the peasantry, and rejected the proletariat's leading role in the revolution. The tactic of individual terrorism which the Socialist-Revolutionaries advocated as a basic method of struggle against the autocracy caused great detriment to the revolutionary movement and made it difficult to organise the masses for the revolutionary struggle.

The agrarian programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries envisaged the abolition of private ownership of the land and its transfer to the village communes on the basis of equalitarian tenure, and also the development of all forms of co-operatives. There was nothing socialist in this programme, which the Socialist-Revolutionaries tried to present as a programme for "socialising the land", since abolition of private ownership of the land, as Lenin pointed out, cannot of itself abolish the domination of capital and the poverty of the masses. The struggle for the abolition of landlord ownership was the real, historically progressive content of the agrarian programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. This demand objectively expressed the interests and aspirations of the peasantry at the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The Bolshevik Party exposed the attempts of the Socialist-Revolutionaries to camouflage themselves as socialists, waged a stubborn struggle against the Socialist-Revolutionaries to gain influence over the peasantry, and laid bare the harmful consequences for the working-class movement of their tactic of individual terrorism. At the same time, on definite conditions, the Bolsheviks concluded temporary agreements with the Socialist-Revolutionaries in the struggle against tsarism.

In the final analysis, the absence of class homogeneousness in the peasantry was responsible for the political and ideological instability and organisational confusion in the Socialist-Revolutionary party, and their constant vacillation between the liberal bourgeoisie and the proletariat. There was a split in the Socialist-Revolutionary Party already in the years of the first Russian revolution: its Right wing formed the legal Labour Popular-Socialist Party, which held views close to those of the Constitutional-Democrats (Cadets); the "Left" wing took shape as the semi-anarchist league of "Maximalists". During the Stolypin reaction, the Socialist-Revolutionary party experienced a complete ideological and organisational break-down, and the First World War saw most Socialist-Revolutionaries adopt the standpoint of social-chauvinism.

After the victory of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1917, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, together with the Mensheviks and Cadets, were the mainstay of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois-landlord Provisional Government, of which leaders of the party (Kerensky, Avxentyev, Chernov) were members. Influenced by the revolutionising of the peasantry, the "Left" wing of the Socialist-Revolutionaries founded an independent party of Left Socialist-Revolutionaries at the end of November 1917. Striving to maintain their influence among the peasant masses, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries formally recognised Soviet power and entered into an agreement with the Bolsheviks, but soon began a struggle against Soviet power. During the years of foreign military intervention and civil war, the Socialist-Revolutionaries carried on counter-revolutionary subversive activity, strongly supported the interventionists and whiteguard generals, took part in counter-revolutionary plots, and organised terrorist acts against leaders of the Soviet state and the Communist Party. After the civil war, the Socialist-Revolutionaries continued their hostile activity against the Soviet state within the country and abroad among whiteguard émigrés. p. 74

[20] *Vestnik Russkoi Revolutsii. Sotsialno-Politichcskoye Obozreniye* (Herald of the Russian Revolution. Socio-Political Review)—an illegal magazine published abroad (Paris-Geneva) in 1901-05; four numbers were issued. Beginning with No. 2 it became the theoretical organ of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Among contributors to the periodical were M. R. Gots (A. Levitsky), I. A. Rubanovich, V. M. Chernov (Y. Gardenin), Y. K. Breshko-Breshkovskaya. p. 74

[21] *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth)—a monthly magazine published in St. Petersburg from 1876 to 1918. In the early nineties it passed into the hands of the liberal Narodniks headed by N. K. Mikhailovsky, and became the chief Narodnik organ. As such, in 1893, it began a campaign against the Russian Social-Democrats. In its distortion and falsification of Marxism, Russkoye Bogatstvo relied on the West-European revisionists; grouped round it were publicists who subsequently became prominent members of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, the "Popular Socialists" and the Trudovik (Labour) groups in the Dumas.

From 1906 *Russkoye Bogatstvo* became the organ of the semi-Cadet party of "Popular Socialists". The magazine changed its title several times: *Sovremenniye Zapiski* (Contemporary Notes), *Sovremennost* (Modern Times), *Russkiye Zapiski* (Russian Notes); from April 1917 it again became *Russkoye Bogatstvo*. p. 74

[22] "*An Amendment to the Agrarian Section of the Programme*" was presented by Lenin for discussion by the other members of the *Iskra* Editorial Board.

To conduct a vote on this amendment, Lenin wrote at the end of the manuscript the pseudonyms or initials of the members

of the *Iskra* Editorial Board: G. V.—Plekhanov; P. B.—Axelrod; V. I.—Zasulich; Berg—pseudonym of Y. 0. Martov; A. N.—Potresov. p. 75

[23] Lenin calls his work entitled *The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy* a commentary on the agrarian section of the Party programme (see pp. 105-48 of this volume). p. 75

[24] According to the "Regulation Governing Redemption by Peasants Who Have Emerged from Serf Dependence..." adopted on February 19, 1861 the peasants were obliged to pay compensation to the landlords for land allotted to them. In concluding the land redemption deal, the tsarist government paid over to the landlords the compensation money, which was regarded as a debt of the peasants payable over a period of 49 years. The instalments of this debt, which the peasants paid annually, were called land redemption payments, whose heavy and intolerable burden resulted in mass ruination and impoverishment of the peasants. The landlords' former peasants alone paid the tsarist government about 2,000 million rubles at a time when the market price of the land which had passed to the peasants did not exceed 544 million rubles. As all the peasants did not come under the land redemption scheme at once, but at various times until 1883, the land redemption payments were to be completed only by 1932. However, the peasant movement during the first Russian revolution of 1905-07 compelled the tsarist government to abolish land redemption payments as from January 1907. p. 75

[25] "*Redemption is nothing but purchase*" was said by Volgin, one of the characters in N. G. Chernyshevsky's *Prologue*, which expressed N. G. Chernyshevsky's own attitude to the "emancipation" of the peasants in 1861. p. 75

[26] This refers to the assassination of Bogolepov, Minister of Public Education, in February 1901 by a student named Karpovich. General Vannovsky, former Minister of War, was appointed Minister of Public Education in Bogolepov's place. p. 77

[27] The reference is to the "*Provivional Regulations for the Organisation of Student Bodies in Higher Educational Institutions under the Ministry of Public Education*", adopted on December 22, 1901 (January 4, 1902) by Vannovsky, Minister of Public Education. Dissatisfied with the "provisional regulations", which put their organisations under constant administrative control, the students protested against this fresh act of governmental arbitrariness and refused to recognise these "regulations". Even liberal professors protested against the "provisional regulations", which imposed on them the duty of police surveillance over the students. p. 77

[28] *Nicholas* (*Nika-Milusha*) *Obmanov*—a character in A. V. Amfiteatrov's *feuilleton*, "Messrs. the Obmanovs", published in the newspa-

per *Rossiya* (Russia) on January 13 (26), 1902. In veiled form the *feuilleton* gave a satirical character sketch of the last Romanovs: Nicholas I, Alexander II, Alexander III and his wife Maria Fyodorovna, and the then reigning Emperor Nicholas II. For publication of this *feuilleton* the newspaper was suppressed and Amfiteatrov exiled to Minusinsk. The article, "Messrs. the Obmanovs", was widely distributed throughout Russia in illegal editions and handwritten copies. p. 78

[29] V. I. Lenin is quoting Lev Tolstoi's article, "Concerning Starvation". p. 82

[30] *Iskra* (The Spark)—the first all-Russian illegal Marxist newspaper, which Lenin founded in 1900 and which played a decisive part in creating the revolutionary Marxist party of the working class.

Since police persecution made publication of a revolutionary newspaper impossible in Russia, Lenin, while in exile in Siberia, worked out all details of a plan for publishing one abroad. When his exile ended (January 1900), he immediately set about giving effect to this plan. In February 1900 Lenin conducted negotiations in St. Petersburg with V. I. Zasulich, who had illegally come there from abroad, on participation of the Emancipation of Labour group in publishing an all-Russian Marxist newspaper. In late March and early April 1900, the so-called "Pskov Conference" took place, at which V. I. Lenin, Y. O. Martov, A. N. Potresov and S. I. Radchenko, together with the "legal Marxists" P. B. Struve and M. I. Tugan-Baranovsky, discussed Lenin's draft editorial declaration on the programme and tasks of an all-Russian newspaper (*Iskra*) and a scientific-political magazine (*Zarya*). Lenin visited a number of Russian cities (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Riga, Smolensk, Nizhni-Novgorod, Ufa, Samara, Syzran), established connections with Social-Democratic groups and individual Social-Democrats and came to an agreement with them concerning support for the future *Iskra*. When Lenin arrived in Switzerland in August 1900, he and A. N. Potresov had a conference with members of the Emancipation of Labour group concerning the programme and tasks of the newspaper and the magazine, possible contributors, and the composition and location of the editorial board. These negotiations almost ended in a rupture (see present edition, Vol. 4, "How the 'Spark' Was Nearly Extinguished", pp. 333-49), but finally agreement on all the questions at issue was reached with the Emancipation of Labour group.

The first number of Lenin's *Iskra* was published in Leipzig in December 1900, while the following numbers came out in Munich, in London from July 1902 and in Geneva from the spring of 1903. Great assistance in organising the publication of *Iskra* was given by the German Social-Democrats Clara Zetkin, Adolf Braun and others, by the Polish revolutionary Julian Marchlewski who was living in Munich at the time, and by Harry Quelch, one of the leaders of the British Social-Democratic Federation. The Editorial Board of *Iskra* consisted of V. I. Lenin, G. V. Plekhanov,

Y. O. Martov, P. B. Axelrod, A. N. Potresov, and V. I. Zasulich. I. G. Smidovich-Leman was the first secretary of the Editorial Board, to be later followed, from the spring of 1901, by N. K. Krupskaya, who also dealt with all *Iskra*'s correspondence with Russian Democratic organisations.

Iskra centred its attention on problems of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and all the working people of Russia against the tsarist autocracy, but it also paid great attention to leading international events, and chiefly to the international working-class movement. In actual fact Lenin was the editor-in-chief and leader of *Iskra*; he wrote articles on all the main questions of Party construction and the Russian proletariat's class struggle.

Iskra became the centre for the unification of the Party's forces, mobilising and training the Party's cadres. In a number of Russian cities (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Samara, etc.) R.S.D.L.P. groups and committees of Lenin's *Iskra* trend were established, and in January 1902 a Russian *Iskra* organisation was set up at a conference of *Iskra* supporters held in Samara. The *Iskra* organisations were created and carried out their work under the direct guidance of Lenin's pupils and comrades-in-arms: N. E. Bauman, I. V. Babushkin, S. I. Gusev, M. I. Kalinin, P. A. Krasikov, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, F. V. Lengnik, P. N. Lepeshinsky, I. I. Radchenko, and others.

On Lenin's initiative and with his direct participation, the *Iskra* Editorial Board drew up the draft Party programme (published in No. 21 of *Iskra*) and prepared the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., which took place in July-August 1903. When the Congress met, most local Social-Democratic organisations in Russia had adhered to *Iskra*, approved its tactics, programme, and organisational plan, and recognised it as their leading organ. A special decision of the Congress noted the unique role of *Iskra* in the struggle for the Party, and appointed it the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. The Second Congress ratified an editorial board consisting of Lenin, Plekhanov, and Martov. Martov, who insisted on retention of all six former editors, refused to go on the board, despite the Party Congress decision, and Nos. 46-51 of the paper appeared under the editorship of Lenin and Plekhanov. Later Plekhanov went over to the Menshevik position, and demanded that the *Iskra* Editorial Board should include all the old Menshevik editors rejected by the Congress. Lenin could not agree to this, and on October 19 (November 1), 1903, he left the *Iskra* Editorial Board. He was co-opted into the Central Committee and from there conducted a struggle against the Menshevik opportunists. No. 52 of *Iskra* appeared under the editorship of Plekhanov alone. On November 13 (26), 1903, Plekhanov, acting alone and in defiance of the Congress, co-opted the former Menshevik editors into the *Iskra* Editorial Board. Beginning with No. 52, the Mensheviks transformed *Iskra* into their own organ. p. 84

[31] *Zemstvo*—the name given to the local government bodies introduced in the central gubernias of tsarist Russia in 1864.

The powers of the Zemstvos were limited to purely local economic problems (hospital and road building, statistics, insurance, etc.). Their activities were controlled by the provincial governors and by the Ministry of the Interior, which could overrule any decisions disapproved by the government. p. 84

[32] In speaking of the "*Novoye Vremya* panegyrics" V. I. Lenin has in mind the reactionary trend of the tsarist Russian press as typified by the newspaper *Novoye Vremya* (New Times) which was published in St. Petersburg from 1868 to October 1917.

Novoye Vremya-ism was an expression used to denote reactionism, venality, and toadyism. p. 85

[33] V. I. Lenin has in view the "Report of the State Savings-Banks for 1899", published by the Board of the State Savings-Banks (year of publication not indicated). p. 85

[34] The calculation is inaccurate: 157,000 is not one-sixth, but approximately one-twelfth of the two million factory workers. p. 87

[35] *Bastiat*—French bourgeois economist of the first half of the nineteenth century. Bastiat preached civil peace, the "harmony of interests" of the various classes of bourgeois society. Karl Marx in his work, "Carey and Bastiat", written in July-December 1857, sharply criticised and ridiculed Bastiat's doctrine.

Schulze-Delitzsch—German economist and supporter of Bastiat. In an effort to divert workers and artisans, who were becoming proletarianised, from the revolutionary struggle, he advocated the establishment of co-operative societies and loan and savings-banks, which, he claimed, could improve the proletariat's condition within the framework of capitalism and save the artisan small producers from ruin. p. 92

[36] Report of the *Iskra* Editorial Board, which was written by Lenin, was intended for the conference of committees and organisations of the R.S.D.L.P. held on March 23-28 (April 5-10), 1902, in Belostok. Represented at the conference were: the St. Petersburg and Ekaterinoslav committees of the R.S.D.L.P., the League of Southern Committees and Organisations of the R.S.D.L.P., the Central Committee of the Bund and its Foreign Committee, the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, and the *Iskra* Editorial Board (whose representative, F. I. Dan, had a mandate from the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad). Through the fault of the conference organisers, who were "economists", the delegate of the *Iskra* Editorial Board arrived late, after the conference had begun, while F. V. Lengnik, the representative of the Russian *Iskra* organisation, did not get to the conference at all, although he arrived in Belostok in good time. The representative of the Nizhni-Novgorod Committee (*Iskra* trend), A. I. Piskunov, who arrived in Belostok before Dan, protested at the absence of representatives of organisations of the *Iskra*

trend, and soon left. The "economists" and the Bundists, who supported them, had intended to convert the conference into the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., reckoning thereby to strengthen their own position in the ranks of Russian Social-Democracy and paralyse *Iskra*'s growing influence. Their attempt, however, failed, both because of the conference's comparatively limited composition (only four of the R.S.D.L.P. organisations operating in Russia were represented) and the deep disagreements on matters of principle, which were revealed at the conference; in particular, the *Iskra* delegate, who raised strong objection to the conference being converted into a Party congress, stated that the conference had not been properly prepared and authorised.

The Belostok Conference adopted a constituting resolution and a theoretical resolution, proposed by the delegate of the Bund Central Committee, with amendments made by the representative of the League of Southern Committees and Organisations of the R.S.D.L.P. (the *Iskra* delegate, who had advanced his own draft of the theoretical resolution, voted against). The conference also approved the text of a May Day leaflet, which was based on a draft drawn up by the *Iskra* Editorial Board. The conference elected an Organising Committee to prepare the Second Party Congress, consisting of representatives of *Iskra* (F. I. Dan), the League of Southern Committees and Organisations of the R.S.D.L.P. (O. A. Yermansky), and the Central Committee of the Bund (K. Portnoi). Soon after the conference, most of its delegates including two members of the Organising Committee, were arrested by the police. A new Organising Committee to prepare the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was formed in November 1902 in Pskov at a conference of representatives of the R.S.D.L.P.'s St. Petersburg Committee, the Russian organisation of *Iskra*, and the *Yuzhny Rabochy* (Southern Worker) group. p. 95

[37] "*Economism*"—an opportunist trend in Russian Social-Democracy at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, a Russian variety of international opportunism. The newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought) (1897-1902) and the magazine *Rabocheye Dyelo* (Workers' Cause) (1899-1902) were organs of the "economists".

In 1899 there appeared *Credo*, a manifesto of the "economists", which was drawn up by E. D. Kuskova. When Lenin, then in exile, received a copy of *Credo*, he wrote "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats", in which he sharply criticised the programme of the "economists". This protest was discussed and unanimously adopted at a conference of 17 Marxists serving terms of political exile, held in the village of Yermakovskoye, in Minusinsk Region. The "economists" limited the tasks of the working class to an economic struggle for higher wages and better working conditions, etc., asserting that the political struggle was the business of the liberal bourgeoisie. They denied the leading role of the party of the working class, considering that the party should merely observe the spontaneous process of the movement and register events.

In their deference to spontaneity in the working-class movement, the "economists" belittled the significance of revolutionary theory and class-consciousness, asserted that socialist ideology could arise out of the spontaneous movement, denied the need to instill socialist consciousness into the working-class movement, and thereby cleared the way for bourgeois ideology. The "economists", who opposed the need to create a centralised working-class party, stood for the sporadic and amateurish character of individual circles and fostered confusion and wavering in the Social-Democratic movement. "Economism" threatened to divert the working class from the class revolutionary path and turn it into a political appendage of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin's *Iskra* played a major part in the struggle against "economism". By his book, *What Is to Be Done?*, which appeared in March 1902, V. I. Lenin brought about the final ideological rout of "economism". p. 96

[38] *Nakanune* (On the Eve)—a monthly magazine of the Narodnik trend, published in Russian in London from January 1899 to February 1902 under the editorship of W. A. Serebryakov; 37 numbers were issued. Grouped round the magazine, which advocated general democratic views, were representatives of various petty-bourgeois parties and trends; a hostile attitude to Marxism in general and to Russian revolutionary Social-Democracy in particular was characteristic of *Nakanune*. p. 96

[39] *Svoboda* (Freedom)—a magazine published in Switzerland by the "revolutionary-socialist" group *Svoboda*, founded by E. O. Zelensky (Nadezhdin) in May 1901. Only two numbers of the magazine appeared: No. 1 in 1901 and No. 2 in 1902. V. I. Lenin considered that the *Svoboda* group belonged to those groups which had "no stable or serious principles, programmes, tactics, organisation, and no roots among the masses" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 237). In its publications (besides *Svoboda*, the group published *The Eve of Revolution. An Irregular Review of Problems of Theory and Tactics*, No. 1; the newspaper-magazine *Otkliki* [Responses], No. 1; Nadezhdin's programmatic pamphlet, *The Rebirth of Revolutionism in Russia*, and others) the *Svoboda* group advocated the ideas of terrorism and "economism". In a bloc with the St. Petersburg "economists", it came out against *Iskra* and the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. The group ceased to exist in 1903. p. 96

[40] *The Bund*—the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia—was organised in 1897 at an inaugural congress of Jewish Social-Democratic groups in Vilno; in the main, it united semi-proletarian elements of the Jewish artisans in the Western regions of Russia. At the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1898), the Bund joined the Party "as an autonomous organisation, independent only in regard to questions specially concerning the Jewish proletariat".

The Bund brought nationalism and separatism into the Russian working-class movement and took an opportunist stand on the most important questions of the Social-Democratic movement. In April 1901, the Bund's Fourth Congress voted for abolition of the organisational relations established by the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., stating in its resolution that it regarded the R.S.D.L.P. as a federative association of national organisations which the Bund should join as a federative unit.

At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., which rejected the Bund's demand that it should be recognised as the sole representative of the Jewish proletariat, the Bund left the Party rejoining it in 1906, on the basis of a decision of the Fourth (Unity) Congress.

Within the R.S.D.L.P., the Bundists constantly supported its opportunist wing (the "economists", Mensheviks, and liquidators), and waged a struggle against the Bolsheviks and Bolshevism. To the Bolshevik programme's demand for the right of nations to self-determination the Bund opposed the demand for cultural and national autonomy. During the years of the Stolypin reaction, the Bund adopted a liquidators' stand and took an active part in forming the anti-Party August bloc. During the First World War, the Bundists took a social-chauvinist stand. In 1917 the Bund supported the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government and fought on the side of the enemies of the October Socialist Revolution, its leadership joining the forces of counter-revolution during the years of foreign military intervention and civil war. At the same time a swing towards co-operation with Soviet power was to be observed among the Bund rank and file. In March 1921 the Bund dissolved itself, part of its members joining the R.C.P.(B.) on a general basis. p. 97

[41] The reference is to the Baku and Kishinev print-shops of *Iskra*.

The Kishinev print-shop was organised by L. I. Goldman in April 1901 and existed until March 12 (25), 1902. It printed G. V. Plekhanov's article, "What Next?" (reprinted from No. 2-3 of *Zarya*), N. K. Krupskaya's pamphlet, *The Working Woman*, *The Indictment in the Case of the May Disturbances at the Obukhov Factory* (reprinted from *Iskra*, No. 9, with V. I. Lenin's article, "The New Battle", as a supplement), V. I. Lenin's articles, "The Struggle Against Starvation" (reprinted from No. 2-3 of *Zarya*) and "The Beginning of Demonstrations" (reprinted from *Iskra*, No. 13), and also a number of manifestos and leaflets. No. 10 of *Iskra* was reprinted at this print-shop.

The Baku print-shop (called "Nina" in secret correspondence) was organised in September 1901 by a group of Baku *Iskra*-ists (V. Z. Ketskhoveli, L. B. Krasin, L. I. Galperin, N. P. Kozerenko, V. Sturua, and others) with the assistance of the Tiflis Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Prior to March 1902, when the "Nina" print-shop temporarily discontinued its work, it had printed the pamphlets, *Spiders and Flies*, by W. Liebknecht, *The Ways People Live*, by S. Dikstein, *The Speech of Pyotr Alexeyev*, *The Tenth Anniversary of the Morozov Strike*, and proclamations and leaflets in Russian

and Georgian. The Baku print-shop reprinted No. 11 of *Iskra* and printed the Georgian illegal Marxist newspaper *Brdzola* (The Struggle). After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., the Baku print-shop became the central Party print-shop and carried out tasks set by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. In December 1905, the print-shop was closed down by decision of the Central Committee of the Party. p. 99

[42] *The Emancipation of Labour group*—the first Russian Marxist group—was founded by G. V. Plekhanov in Switzerland in 1883. Besides Plekhanov, the group included P. B. Axelrod, L. G. Deutsch, V. I. Zasulich, and V. N. Ignatov.

The Emancipation of Labour group did much to propagate Marxism in Russia. It translated into the Russian language works by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, such as *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Wage Labour and Capital*, *Socialism*: *Utopian and Scientific*, publishing them abroad and distributing them in Russia, and also popularised Marxism through its publications. The Emancipation of Labour group dealt a severe blow at Narodism, which was the chief ideological obstacle to the spread of Marxism and the development of the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. In his works, *Socialism and the Political Struggle* (1883), *Our Differences* (1885), and others, G. V. Plekhanov gave a Marxist criticism of the Narodnik theories of Russia's non-capitalist path of development, the Narodniks' subjective-idealist view of the role of the individual in history, the denial of the proletariat's leading role in the revolutionary movement, etc. Written by Plekhanov and published by the Emancipation of Labour group, the two draft programmes of the Russian Social-Democrats (1883 and 1885) were an important step in preparing for and creating the Social-Democratic Party in Russia. Of special importance in spreading Marxist views and in substantiating and defending dialectical and historical materialism was Plekhanov's (N. Beltov's) book, *The Development of the Monist View of History* (1895), on "which has helped to rear a whole generation of Russian Marxists" (see present edition, Vol. 16, p. 269). The group published and distributed in Russia four issues of the magazine *Sotsial-Demokrat*, as well as a series of popular pamphlets for workers.

Engels welcomed the appearance of the Emancipation of Labour group, "which frankly and without equivocation accepted the great economic and historical theories of Marx" (see Frederick Engels' Letter to V. I. Zasulich, April 23, 1885. Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, p. 459). G. V. Plekhanov and V. I. Zasulich were personal friends of Engels and corresponded with him for many years. The Emancipation of Labour group established contacts with the international working-class movement and, beginning with the First Congress of the Second International in 1889 (Paris) and throughout the whole of its existence represented Russian Social-Democracy at all congresses of the International. But the views of the Emancipation of Labour group also contained serious errors: over-estimation of the liberal bourgeoi-

sie's role and under-estimation of the revolutionary nature of peasantry as the reserve force of the proletarian revolution. These were the germ of the future Menshevik views held by Plekhanov and other members of the group. V. I. Lenin pointed out that the Emancipation of Labour group "only laid the theoretical foundations for the Social-Democratic movement and took the first step towards the working-class movement" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 278).

In 1894 the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad was formed on the initiative of the Emancipation of Labour group. The members of the Emancipation of Labour group and their adherents left the Union in 1900 and founded the *Sotsial-Demokrat* revolutionary organisation. G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod, and V. I. Zasulich, who were members of the group, were on the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in August 1903, the Emancipation of Labour group announced that it had ceased to exist. p. 101

[43] *Bernsteinism*—a trend hostile to Marxism in the German and international Social-Democratic movement, which originated at the end of the nineteenth century and was named after Eduard Bernstein, the most outspoken representative of revisionism.

In 1896-98 Bernstein wrote a series of articles entitled "Problems of Socialism" for the magazine *Die Neue Zeit*, the theoretical organ of German Social-Democracy. In these articles, he tried under the guise of "freedom of criticism" to revise (hence the word "revisionism") the philosophical, economic, and political foundations of revolutionary Marxism and to substitute for them bourgeois theories of reconciliation of class contradictions, and of class collaboration. He attacked Marx's doctrine of the impoverishment of the working class, the growth of class contradictions, crises the inevitable collapse of capitalism, socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and brought forward a programme of social-reformism expressed in the formula: "the movement is everything, the final goal—nothing". In 1899 Bernstein's articles appeared in a book entitled *The Premises of Socialism and the Tasks of Social-Democracy*. The book had the support of German Social-Democracy's Right wing, and of opportunist elements in other parties of the Second International, including the Russian "economists".

Bernsteinism was condemned at the congresses of the German Social-Democratic Party in Stuttgart (October 1898), Hanover (October 1899), and Lübeck (September 1901). However, the Party leadership did not show sufficient determination in opposing Bernstein and his adherents, but adopted a conciliatory attitude. The Bernsteinites continued their open propaganda of revisionist ideas in the magazine *Socialistische Monatshefte* (Socialist Monthly) and in the Party organisations.

Headed by V. I. Lenin, the Bolshevik Party alone waged a consistent and resolute struggle against Bernsteinism and its adherents and followers in Russia. As early as 1899, Lenin came

out against the Bernsteinites in his "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" and in his article, "Our Programme" (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 167-82 and 210-14). His writings, "Marxism and Revisionism" (see present edition, Vol. 15), "Differences in the European Labour Movement" (see present edition, Vol. 16), and others, were also devoted to an exposure of Bernsteinism. p. 103

[44] The reference is to the Manifesto of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, issued in 1898 by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. on the instructions and in the name of the Party's First Congress. The Manifesto put forward the struggle for political liberty and the overthrow of the autocracy as the chief task of Russian Social-Democracy, and linked the political struggle with the general tasks of the working-class movement. p. 103

[45] *Rabocheye Dyelo* (Workers' Cause)—a magazine that was the organ of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad. It was published in Geneva from April 1899 to February 1902 under the editorship of B. N. Krichevsky, P. F. Teplov (Sibiryak), V. P. Ivanshin, and later also A. S. Martynov. Twelve numbers (9 books) were issued in all. The Editorial Board of *Rabocheye Dyelo* was the "economists'" centre abroad. The magazine supported Bernstein's slogan of "freedom of criticism" of Marxism, took an opportunist stand on questions of Russian Social-Democracy's tactics and organisational tasks, denied the revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry, and so on. Its supporters propagated opportunist ideas of subordinating the proletariat's political struggle to the economic, exalted spontaneity in the working-class movement and denied the Party's leading role. V. P. Ivanshin, one of the editors of *Rabocheye Dyelo*, also took part in editing *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought), organ of the outspoken "economists", which *Rabocheye Dyelo* supported. At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., the *Rabocheye Dyelo* supporters represented the extreme Right, opportunist wing of the Party. p. 104

[46] Written in February and the first half of March 1902, the article, "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy", which V. I. Lenin called a commentary to the agrarian section of the R.S.D.L.P.'s draft programme, was published in *Zarya*, No. 4, in August 1902. When the article was discussed by the *Iskra* Editorial Board, serious differences of opinion arose: G. V. Plekhanov, P. B. Axelrod and other members of the board opposed certain of its most important propositions (e.g., on land nationalisation, etc.). A number of passages, including those dealing with land nationalisation, were omitted when this article was published in *Zarya*.

The article in the present edition of V. I. Lenin's *Collected Works* is published according to the original manuscript.

The postscript is not contained in the manuscript; it is given here from the text of the article in *Zarya*. p. 105

[47] The reference is to Karl Kautsky's book, *Die Agrarfrage. Eine Übersicht über die Tendensen der modernen Landwirtschaft und die Agrarpolitik der Sozialdemokratie*. (The Agrarian Question. A Review of the Tendencies of Modern Agriculture and the Agrarian Policy of Social-Democracy), published in Stuttgart in 1899. p. 119

[48] *Narodnaya Volya* (The People's Will)—a secret political organisation of Narodnik terrorists, which arose in August 1879, following a split in the secret society Zemlya i Volya (Land and Liberty). The Narodnaya Volya was headed by an Executive Committee which included A. I. Zhelyabov, A. D. Mikhailov, M. F. Frolenko, N. A. Morozov, V. N. Figner, S. L. Perovskaya, A. A. Kvyatkovsky. While continuing to uphold Utopian Narodnik socialism, the members of the Narodnaya Volya (Narodovoltsi) at the same time put forward the task of achieving political liberty. Their programme envisaged the organisation of "permanent popular representation" created on the basis of universal suffrage, the proclamation of democratic liberties, the transfer of the land to the people, and the working out of measures for handing over the factories to the workers. The overthrow of the tsarist autocracy was the immediate aim of the Narodnaya Volya, but, since it had no links with the masses, the Narodovoltsi took the path of political plots and individual terrorism.

After March 1, 1881 (the assassination of Alexander II), the government smashed the Narodnaya Volya organisation by savage persecution, executions, and provocation. Repeated attempts to revive the Narodnaya Volya during the eighties proved fruitless. In 1886, for instance, a group was formed under the leadership of A. I. Ulyanov (the brother of V. I. Lenin) and P. Y. Shevyrev, which adopted the traditions of the Narodnaya Volya. After an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Alexander III in 1887, the group was uncovered and its active members executed.

While criticising the erroneous Utopian programme of the Narodovoltsi, V. I. Lenin at the same time held in high regard the self-sacrificing struggle against tsarism waged by the members of the Narodnaya Volya organisation. In 1899 he pointed out in "A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats" that "the members of the old Narodnaya Volya managed to play an enormous role in the history of Russia, despite the fact that only narrow social strata supported the few heroes, and despite the fact that it was by no means a revolutionary theory which served as the banner of the movement" (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 181). p. 120

[49] Lenin has in mind the gubernia committees set up in 1857-58 in all the gubernias of European Russia (with the exception of Archangel Gubernia) to draw up drafts for the emancipation of the peasants from serfdom. The committees consisted of persons elected from among the nobility (hence the name "committees of nobles") and, in the main, they were engaged in seeking ways and means

of carrying out the "Peasant Reform" in a way to give the nobility the greatest benefit from it. p. 124

[50] *The Valuyeu Commission*—the "Commission to Investigate the Condition of Russian Agriculture", which functioned under the chairmanship of the tsar's minister P. A. Valuyev. In the years 1872-73 the commission collected a large amount of material dealing with the condition of agriculture in post-Reform Russia: governors' reports, statements and depositions of landlords, Marshals of the Nobility, Zemstvo administrations, volost boards, grain merchants, village priests, kulaks, statistical and agricultural societies and other bodies connected with agriculture. This material was published in *Papers of the Commission of Inquiry into the Condition of Russian Agriculture*, St. Petersburg, 1873. p. 127

[51] *Oblomov*—a landowner, the chief character in a novel of the same name by the Russian writer I. A. Goncharov. Oblomov was the personification of routine, stagnation, and incapacity for action. The name is used here in a generic sense to signify the Russian landowner. p. 130

[52] "*General Redistribution*"—a slogan popular among the peasants of tsarist Russia and expressing their desire for a general redistribution of the land. p. 136

[53] The criticism of Nadezhdin's opportunist views given on pages 138-39 of this volume (beginning with the words: "It is interesting to note that, in his desire to reach just such a maximum as nationalisation of the land, Nadezhdin has gone astray..." and ending with the words: "The desire to be 'understood by the muzhik' at all costs has driven Nadezhdin into the jungle of a reactionary petty-bourgeois Utopia") was omitted by the Editorial Board when the article was first published in *Zarya*, No 4. Nor did *Zarya* print the footnote which Lenin wrote to replace the omitted text.

In the present edition the text and footnote are given according to Lenin's manuscript. p. 140

[54] *Rural superintendent* (*Zemsky Nachalnik*)—an administrative post instituted by the tsarist government in 1889 to strengthen the authority of the landlords over the peasants. The rural superintendents were appointed from among the local landed nobility and were granted extensive powers, not merely administrative but also judicial. p. 140

[55] *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (Moscow Recorder)—one of the oldest Russian newspapers, published by Moscow University from 1756 (originally as a one-sheet paper). During 1863-87 it was published and edited by M. N. Katkov, an extreme reactionary and chauvinist, who was bitterly opposed to the least signs of progressive social thought and transformed the newspaper into a monarchist-

nationalist organ voicing the views of the most reactionary sections of the landlords and clergy. From 1905 *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* was one of the chief organs of the Black Hundreds. It was closed down at the end of 1917. p. 144

[56] *Oblomovka*—the name of a village belonging to the landlord Oblomov. (See Note 51.) Here the word "Oblomovka" is used to denote a Russian village in the days of tsarism. p. 147

[57] The reference is to the peasant movement in the Poltava and Kharkov gubernias at the end of March and beginning of April 1902—the first large-scale revolutionary action of Russian peasants at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was sparked by the desperate condition of the peasants in these gubernias, which became still worse in the spring of 1902 owing to the crop failure of 1901 and the resulting famine. The peasants demanded a redistribution of the land, but in the 1902 movement they limited themselves in the main to seizing stocks of food and fodder on the landlords' estates. In all, 56 estates in Poltava Gubernia and 24 in Kharkov Gubernia were attacked. Troops were dispatched to crush the peasants. These reprisals by the tsarist government resulted in many peasants being killed, all the inhabitants of certain villages flogged, and hundreds of peasants condemned to varying terms of imprisonment. The peasants were forced to pay an indemnity of 800,000 rubles for "losses" caused to the landlords by the peasant disorders. In his pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor* (see pp. 421-28 of this volume), V. I. Lenin gave an analysis of the aims and character of the peasant movement in the Kharkov and Poltava gubernias, and the causes of its defeat. p. 148

[58] The reference is to "The Autocracy and the Zemstvo", which P. B. Struve (under the pen-name of R. N. S.) wrote as a foreward to a "confidential memorandum" of S. Y. Witte, Minister of Finance, and which was published by *Zarya* in Stuttgart in 1901. This foreword was strongly criticised by Lenin in his work, "The Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism" (see present edition, Vol. 5). p. 155

[59] *The Northern League of the R.S.D.L.P.* or the Northern Labour League—a regional union of the Social-Democratic organisation in Vladimir, Yaroslavl, and Kostroma gubernias. It arose in 1900-01 on the initiative of O. A. Varentsova and V. A. Noskov, who were exiled from Yaroslavl and Ivanovo-Voznesensk, went to live in Voronezh and, together with other exiled Social-Democrats (A. I. Lyubimov, L. Y. Karpov, A. A. and N. N. Kardashev, D. V. Kosterkin), there formed a group of the *Iskra* trend. Among those who also took part in the organisation of the Northern League were M. A. Bagayev an Ivanovo-Voznesensk worker; N. N. Panin, a worker of the Putilov Factory, exiled to Siberia for taking part in the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class; A. P. Dolivo-Dobrovolsky, and others. In

the years 1901-05, the League guided the working-class movement in this industrial region. Its activities grew considerably after the Kineshma Conference, held in August 1901, of representatives of the Social-Democratic committees of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Vladimir, Yaroslavl, and Kostroma. At the League's congress in Voronezh on January 1-5, 1902, it took final shape, electing a Central Committee (Bagayev, Varentsova, Panin, and others) and adopting a programme, which V. I. Lenin criticised in his letter to the Northern League.

From the outset the Northern League was linked with *Iskra* and shared the latter's political line and plan of organisation (in the *Iskra* organisation's report to the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. it was pointed out that "of all the Party committees, the Northern League alone immediately entered into friendly relations with *Iskra*"). In an open letter published in No. 34 of *Iskra* on February 15, 1903, the League expressed complete solidarity with the programme of *Iskra* and *Zarya* and with Lenin's book, *What Is to Be Done?*, and recognised *Iskra* and *Zarya* as the leading organs of the R.S.D.L.P. The League was smashed by the secret police in the spring of 1902, but was quickly reformed, its representatives (V. A. Noskov, F. I. Shchekoldin, A. M. Stopani, A. I. Lyubimov) taking an active part in preparations for the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. The League's delegates to the Second Congress (L. M. Knipovich and A. M. Stopani) adhered to the Leninist majority.

After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., the Northern Labour League was reconstituted as the Northern Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., the local committees becoming groups of the Northern Committee. At the conference of Northern organisations of the R.S.D.L.P. held in Kostroma in July 1905, the Northern Committee was abolished and the Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Yaroslavl, and Kostroma independent committees were formed. p. 159

[60] The reference is to the organisation of demonstrations on the anniversary of the 1861 Peasant Reform. Paragraph 11 of the Northern League's programme stated that leaflets issued on this occasion should "point out to the workers that they could expect nothing from the autocratic government" and should "endeavour to destroy the illusion that the emancipation was the personal act of the tsar, an act of good will on his part". p. 159

[61] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 137. p. 164

[62] *Zubatov*—colonel of gendarmerie and chief of the Moscow Secret Police, on whose initiative a policy of "police socialism" was conducted in 1901-03. This consisted in the setting up of legal workers' organisations intended to divert the workers from the political struggle against the autocracy. Through these organisations Zubatov attempted to direct the working-class movement towards the achievement of purely economic aims, and it was suggested to the

workers that the tsarist government was prepared to help improve their economic conditions.

The reactionary character of Zubatovism was unmasked by the revolutionary Social-Democrats, who made use of legal working-class organisations so as to draw the working masses into the struggle against the autocracy. As Lenin was to write later: "And now the Zubatov movement is outgrowing its bounds. Initiated by the police in the interests of the police, in the interests of supporting the autocracy and demoralising the political consciousness of the workers, this movement is turning against the autocracy and is becoming an outbreak of the proletarian class struggle" (see present edition, Vol. 8, p. 90).

Under the impact of the revolutionary movement in 1903, the tsar's government was forced to liquidate the Zubatov organisations. p. 167

[63] The pamphlet, *Who Will Carry Out the Political Revolution?*, was written by A. A. Sanin and printed in 1899 in the symposium, *The Proletarian Struggle*, No. 1, published by the Urals Social-Democratic Group. The author of the pamphlet, who adopted the position of "economism", denied the need to create an independent political party of the working class and maintained that a political revolution could be carried out by means of a general strike, without any preliminary organisation and preparation of the masses, and without an armed uprising. p. 168

[64] *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (Revolutionary Russia)—an illegal newspaper of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. It was published from the end of 1900 in Russia by the League of Socialist-Revolutionaries (No. 1, dated 1900, actually appeared in January 1901); from January 1902 to December 1905 it was published abroad (in Geneva) as the official organ of the party of Socialist-Revolutionaries. p. 172

[65] *The Local Committee*—the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 174

[66] *2a 3b*—the pseudonym of the Bolshevik P. N. Lepeshinsky, a member of the Organising Committee for the convocation of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. p. 174

[67] *The St. Petersburg League*—the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, was organised by Lenin in the autumn of 1895 and united all the Marxist workers' study circles in St. Petersburg. The League of Struggle was headed by a Central Group, which was led by Lenin. The League of Struggle was the first in Russia to begin bringing about the union of socialism with the working-class movement, as well as the transition from propaganda of Marxism among a small group of advanced workers to political agitation among the broad masses of the working class.

In December 1895 the tsarist government dealt the League of Struggle a severe blow: during the night of December 8-9 (20-21), 1895, a large number of the League's leaders, with V. I. Lenin at their head, were arrested, and the first issue of the newspaper *Rabocheye Dyelo* (Workers' Cause), which was ready for the press, was seized.

From prison V. I. Lenin continued to guide the League's activities: he helped it with advice, sent out letters and leaflets in cipher, wrote a pamphlet *On Strlkes* (which has not been discovered), and the "Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social-Democratic Party" (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 93-121).

As Lenin put it, the League's importance lay in its being the embryo of a revolutionary party based on the working-class movement and guiding the proletariat's class struggle.

The older members of the League who had escaped arrest took part in preparing for and conducting the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. and in drafting the "Manifesto" published in the name of the Congress. However, the prolonged absence of the League's founders serving terms of exile in Siberia, and, above all, of V. I. Lenin, facilitated the adoption of an opportunist policy by the "young" Social-Democrats, the "economists", who from 1897 through the newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought), implanted the ideas of trade-unionism and Bernsteinism on Russian soil. From the second half of 1898 the most outspoken "economists"—the *Rabochaya Mysl* supporters—gained leadership of the League. p. 174

[68] *The Workers' Organisation* (for secrecy dubbed *Manya*)—an organisation of supporters of "economism", which arose in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1900. In the autumn of the same year it merged with the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, and the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. was formed, consisting of two parts: the "Committee" proper and the "Committee of the Workers' Organisation". After the *Iskra* trend triumphed in the St. Petersburg Social-Democratic organisation (1902), the group of "economist"-influenced Social-Democrats broke away from the St. Petersburg Committee and recreated an independent "Workers' Organisation", which existed until the beginning of 1904. p. 174

[69] *The Declaration* of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. on solidarity with *Iskra* and *Zarya* and on their recognition as the leading organs of Russian Social-Democracy was published in leaflet form in July 1902, and later printed in *Iskra*. No. 26, October 15, 1902. p. 175

[70] *The Russian Iskra organisation* (called *Sonya* for secrecy) united *Iskra* supporters operating inside Russia. In the early period of its existence (February 1900-January 1902) the Russian *Iskra* organisation had not yet taken shape as an organised entity. The groups of *Iskra*'s supporters and "agents" (P. N. and 0. B. Lepe-

shinsky, P. A. Krasikov, A. M. Stopani, and others in Pskov; V. P. and M. G. Artsybushev, K. K. Gazenbush, and others in Samara; L. N. Radchenko, S. O. Tsederbaum, and others in Poltava; S. I. Radchenko in St. Petersburg; A. D. Tsyurupa in Kharkov; N. E. Bauman in Moscow, I. V. Babushkin in Orekhovo-Zuyevo, and so on) were not at first united by any kind of centre operating in Russia, and maintained direct relations with the *Iskra* Editorial Board. But as *Iskra*'s influence increased, its Russian organisation more and more became the hub of the Russian Social-Democratic movement; there was a considerable increase in the volume of practical work carried out by the *Iskra*-ists (arranging stores of Party literature and its transport and distribution among the Social-Democratic organisations, collecting money and dispatching correspondence to *Iskra*, etc.). All this urgently required the formation of an all-Russian centre of the *Iskra* supporters' activity, and the formation of a Russian *Iskra* organisation.

V. I. Lenin gives the date of the founding of the Russian *Iskra* organisation as January 1902, when a congress of *Iskra* supporters working in Russia was held in Samara, with the active participation of G. M. and Z. P. Krzhizhanovsky, F. V. Lengnik, and others. The congress elected a Bureau and adopted the rules of the organisation, worked out tactical principles and defined the duties of the organisation's members. "Your initiative," V. I. Lenin wrote to the organisers of the congress, "has heartened us tremendously. Hurrah! That's the right way! Reach out wider! And operate more independently, with greater initiative—you are the first to have begun in such a broad way that it means that the continuation, too, will be successful" (*Lenin Miscellany VIII*, p. 221).

The Russian *Iskra* organisation played a prominent part in restoring actual unity in the R.S.D.L.P. With its members' most active participation, an Organising Committee was formed in November 1902 to prepare and convene the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. The Russian *Iskra* organisation handed over its contacts and *Iskra* literature to the Organising Committee; it also placed at the Committee's disposal *Iskra* supporters sent to work in Russia. At the same time the Russian *Iskra* organisation was not merged in the Organising Committee, but was preserved until the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., chiefly for the purpose of influencing the Organising Committee, which included unstable and opportunist elements from among the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group (see Note 88) and members of the Bund. p. 177

[71] "*At least we make an infernal noise.*" Words spoken by Repetilov, a character in Griboyedov's well-known comedy, *Wit Works Woe*, Act IV, Scene 4. p. 184

[72] V. I. Lenin's intention "to return in a magazine article, or in a pamphlet" to a more detailed exposition of the arguments against the programmatic views and tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries remained unfulfilled. The following is the preliminary mate-

rial for the intended pamphlet: "Extract from an Article Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries—(December 1902) (see pp. 285-86 of this volume), "Outline of a Pamphlet Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries"—(spring 1903) (see *Proletarskaya Revolutsia*, 1939, No. 1, pp. 22-28), and "Outline of an Article Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries"—(first half of July 1903) (see pp. 462-63 of this volume). p. 185

[73] "*Let the writers do the writing and the reader do the reading*"—a sentence from M. Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin's *Miscellaneous Letters*, Letter One. p. 186

[74] The reference is to one of Turgenev's *Poems in Prose*—"A Rule of Life" (see I. S. Turgenev, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 8, 1956, p. 464). p. 197

[75] *Katheder-reformers*, *Katheder-Socialists*—representatives of a trend in bourgeois political economy, which arose in Germany in the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century. Under the guise of socialism the *Katheder*-Socialists advocated from the university chairs (*Katheder* in German) bourgeois-liberal reformism. *Katheder*-Socialism was motivated by the exploiting classes' fear of the spread of Marxism and the growth of the working-class movement, and also by the efforts of bourgeois ideologists to find fresh means of keeping the working people in subjugation.

Representatives of *Katheder*-Socialism (Adolf Wagner, Gustav Schmoller, Lorenz Brentano, Werner Sombart, and others, asserted that the bourgeois state stands above classes and is capable of reconciling the hostile classes and of gradually introducing "socialism", without affecting the interests of the capitalists and, as far as possible, with due account of the working people's demands. They proposed giving police regulation of wage-labour the force of law and reviving the medieval guilds. Marx, Engels and Lenin exposed the reactionary nature of *Katheder*-Socialism, which in Russia was spread by the "legal Marxists". p. 200

[76] *V. V.* (pseudonym of V. P. Vorontsov)—one of the ideologists of liberal Narodism in the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century. p. 201

[77] *N.—on* or *Nikolai—on* (pseudonym of N. F. Danielson)—one of the ideologists of liberal Narodism in the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century. p. 201

[78] *Babeuf* (1760-1797)—revolutionary Communist and leader of the French bourgeois revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. He organised a secret society, which in 1796 tried to overthrow the power of the exploiting classes.

Levitsky—liberal Narodnik, founder of agricultural artels in Kherson Gubernia in the nineties of the nineteenth century. p. 203

[79] *Pobedonostsev*—reactionary tsarist statesman, Procurator-General of the Synod, actually head of the government and chief inspirer of the savage feudal reaction under Alexander III. He continued to play a prominent part under Nicholas II. p. 204

[80] *Narodnoye Pravo* (People's Right)—an illegal organisation of Russian democratic intellectuals founded in the summer of 1893, its initiators including O. V. Aptekman, A. I. Bogdanovich, A. V. Gedeonovsky, M. A. Natanson, and N. S. Tyutchev who had formerly belonged to the Narodnaya Volya. The members of the Narodnoye Pravo set themselves the aim of uniting all opposition forces to fight for political reforms. The organisation issued two programme documents, "Manifesto", and "An Urgent Question". In the spring of 1894 it was smashed by the tsarist government. Lenin's estimation of the Narodnoye Pravo as a political party is to be found in his "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats" (see present edition Vol. 1, pp. 129-332), and "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats" (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 323-51). Most of the members of the Narodnoye Pravo subsequently joined the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. p. 210

[81] *Osvobozhdeniye* (Emancipation)—a fortnightly magazine published abroad from June 18 (July 1), 1902, to October 18 (31), 1905, under the editorship of P. B. Struve. Arising out of the opposition Zemstvo movement, *Osvobozhdeniye* was in fact the illegal organ of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie and consistently advocated the ideas of moderate-monarchist liberalism. In 1903 the League of Emancipation developed around the magazine (taking definite shape in January 1904), and continued to exist until October 1905. Together with the Zemstvo-constitutionalists, the *Osvobozhdeniye* group formed the nucleus of the Cadet Party—the chief bourgeois party in Russia—which was formed in October 1905. p. 211

[82] *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (Socialist Monthly)—a magazine which was the chief organ of the opportunists of German Social-Democracy and one of the organs of international opportunism. During the 1914-18 imperialist world war it took the stand of social-chauvinism. It was published in Berlin from 1897 to 1933. p. 211

[83] V. I. Lenin is referring to the pamphlet, *The Autocracy and Strikes. The Memorandum of the Ministry of Finance on Permitting Strikes*, published in 1902 in Geneva by the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad. p. 215

[84] *The Law of June 3 (15), 1886* ("Regulations on Supervision of the Enterprises of the Factory Industry and on Relations Between Factory Owners and Workers") was passed under the influence of the working-class movement in the Moscow, Vladimir, and Yaroslavl gubernias and, in particular, the famous Morozov strike of 1885. The chief feature of the Law of June 3, 1886, was the

certain restriction it placed on the arbitrary right of factory owners to exact fines from the workers (hence it became known as the "Law on Fines"). Lenin gave a detailed analysis and criticism of this law in the pamphlet, *Explanation of the Law on Fines Imposed on Factory Workers* (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 29-72).

The Law of June 2 (14), 1897 ("On the Duration and Distribution of Working Hours in Enterprises of the Factory Industry") introduced, for the first time in Russian history, legislative limitation of the working day for part of the workers in large-scale industry. Like the Law of June 3, 1886, it was passed under the influence of the working-class movement in the nineties of the nineteenth century, particularly the mass strikes of the St. Petersburg workers in 1895-96. V. I. Lenin's pamphlet, *The New Factory Law*, gives an analysis and criticism of the Law of June 2, 1897 (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 267-315). p. 215

[85] *The Society of Mechanics* (officially the Society for Mutual Aid of Workers Engaged in Mechanical Production) was formed in Moscow in May 1901 with the participation of the secret police. Its rules were confirmed by the Governor-General of Moscow on February 14, 1902. The formation of the Society was one of the attempts made to implant "police socialism", Zubatovism (see Note 62), in order to divert the workers from the revolutionary struggle. The demagogic flirting of the police with the workers and, in particular the attempts made by Zubatov agents, who controlled the Society of Mechanics, to assume the right to mediate in conflicts between employers and workers, evoked dissatisfaction among Moscow factory owners and protests from the Ministry of Finance, which reflected their interests. Under the impact of the growing working class movement, the role of the Society, like that of other Zubatov organisations, dwindled away after 1903. p. 216

[86] The reference is to the so-called "Hard Labour" Bill (*Zuchthausvorlage*) introduced in the German Reichstag in 1899 on the insistence of the employers and Emperor Wilhelm II. The Bill imposed from one to five years of prison or a fine of up to 1,000 marks on anyone who "by violence, threats, insults or a declaration of dishonesty" helped workers take part in unions and agreements, in cited them to strike or tried to oppose strike-breaking. Under pressure from the working-class movement, the "Hard Labour" Bill was turned down in the Reichstag on November 20, 1899, by the votes of the Left parties and the Centre party. p. 221

[87] *Molchalin*—a character in Griboyedov's play, Wit Works Woe, a careerist and lickspittle. p. 223

[88] *Yuzhny Rabochy* (Southern Worker)—a Social-Democratic newspaper, published illegally from January 1900 to April 1903 by a group of this name. Twelve numbers were issued. I. K. Lalayants, A. Vilensky ("Ilya"), O. A. Kogan (Yermansky), B. S. Tseitlin

(Batursky), E. Y. and E. S. Levin, V. N. Rozanov, and others were at various times editors and contributors.

Yuzhny Rabochy started as the "Ekaterinoslav Workers Newspaper" (the subtitle of the first two issues), and soon became an influential "organ of the working-class movement in South Russia". The location of the newspaper's print-shop was continually changed, being at different times in Ekaterinoslav, Smolensk, Kishinev, Nikolayev, and elsewhere.

Yuzhny Rabochy opposed "economism" and terrorism and upheld the need to develop a mass revolutionary movement. But, in opposition to the *Iskra* plan of creating in Russia a centralised Marxist party round an all-Russian political newspaper, the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group put forward a plan for restoring the R.S.D.L.P. by creating regional Social-Democratic associations. A practical attempt to realise this plan was made through convocation of the conference of committees and organisations of the R.S.D.L.P. in South Russia in December 1901, at which the League of Southern Committees and Organisations of the R.S.D.L.P. was formed, with *Yuzhny Rabochy* as its organ. The attempt proved impracticable (as was the entire organisational plan of *Yuzhny Rabochy*) and after the mass police raids in the spring of 1902, the League disintegrated. In August 1902, those members of *Yuzhny Rabochy*'s Editorial Board who were at large entered into negotiations with the *Iskra* Editorial Board on joint work to restore the unity of Russian Social-Democracy. The declaration of the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group on solidarity with *Iskra* (published in *Iskra*, No. 27, November 1, 1902, and in *Yuzhny Rabochy*, No. 10, December 1902) was of great importance in consolidating the Social-Democratic forces in Russia. In November 1902, the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group, together with the Russian *Iskra* organisation, the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and the Northern League of the R.S.D.L.P. participated in restoring the Organising Committee and in its activities in convening the Second Party Congress.

The *Yuzhny Rabochy* group conducted extensive revolutionary work in Russia, but at the same time it displayed opportunist tendencies in deciding the question of the attitude to the liberal bourgeoisie and to the peasant movement, and hatched a separatist plan to set up an all-Russia newspaper parallel to *Iskra*.

At the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., the *Yuzhny Rabochy* delegates adopted a "Centre" position (Lenin called the representatives of the Centre "opportunist middlemen"). The Second Congress decided to dissolve the *Yuzhny Rabochy* group as well as all separate Social-Democratic groups and organisations. p. 225

[89] *A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organisational Tasks* was a reply to a letter from the St. Petersburg Social-Democrat A. A. Shneyerson (Yeryoma) criticising the way Social-Democratic work was organised in that city.

After the arrest of V. I. Lenin and his close associates in December 1895, the "economists" gradually gained control of the League

of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Unlike the revolutionary Marxists, who fought for the creation of an underground and centralised organisation of revolutionaries, the "economists" derogated the significance of political struggle and came out for creation of a broad working-class organisation based on the elective principle and pursuing the primary aim of immediate defence of the workers' economic interests, formation of mutual aid banks, and the like. The "economists'" long control of the League of Struggle left an imprint on its organisational structure too: its working-class membership (the so-called Workers' Organisation) was artificially separated from the intellectual members. The League's clumsy organisation was more adapted for a trade-union form of struggle than for leadership of the workers' mass revolutionary struggle against the autocracy and the bourgeoisie. The struggle between the *Iskra*-ists and the "economists" which developed in the St. Petersburg organisation culminated in the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. going over to the *Iskra* stand in the summer of 1902.

"Two questions were raised," it was reported in *Iskra*'s No. 30 of December 15, 1902, "at a meeting held in the outskirts of St. Petersburg in *June*, which was attended by *workers representing all five wards of the Workers*' Organisation (who comprised the highest body of the then Workers' *Organisation*). These questions were: 1) the two trends in Russian Social-Democracy: the old 'economist' trend, which hitherto obtained in St. Petersburg, and the revolutionary, as represented by *Iskra* and *Zarya*, and 2) principles of organisation (so-called 'democratism' or an 'organisation of revolutionaries'). On both issues *all the workers* came out *unanimously against* 'economism' and 'democratism' and in favour of the *Iskra trend*."

To reconstruct the St. Petersburg League of Struggle in the spirit of *Iskra* organisational principles, a committee was set up composed of representatives of the *Iskra* organisation, the Workers' Organisation, and the St. Petersburg Committee. However, the "economists", headed by Tokarev, stated that they disagreed with the St. Petersburg Committee's decision on support for the *Iskra* stand, formed the so-called Workers' Organisation's Committee, and launched a struggle against the *Iskra*-ists. The latter, with the support of the workers, were able to retain their positions and fortify their standing in the St. Petersburg organisation.

A Letter to a Comrade, in which Lenin developed and gave concrete shape to his plan for the Party's organisation, was received in St. Petersburg at the height of the struggle against the "economists". It was hectographed, copied by hand, and distributed among St. Petersburg Social-Democrats. In June 1903 it was illegally published by the Siberian Social-Democratic League under the title of *On Revolutionary Work in the Organisations of the R.S.D.L.P.* (*A Letter to a Comrade*). This *Letter* was published by the R.S.D.L.P.'s Central Committee as a separate pamphlet, with a preface and postscript by Lenin, who also prepared the pamphlet for the press. The *Letter* was widely distributed in Social-Demo-

cratic organisations, police archives for 1902-05 revealing that it was found during police raids in Moscow, Riga, Rostov-on-Don, Nakhichevan, Nikolayev, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, and elsewhere.

The Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U.'s Central Committee contain only the first manuscript page of the *Letter*, with the following inscription in Lenin's hand: "To the St. Petersburg Committee in general and to Comrade Yeryoma in particular (from Lenin)." p. 229

[90] Lenin refers to Porphiry (nicknamed "Judas") Golovlyov, a sanctimonious, hypocritical landlord serf-owner described in M. Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin's *The Golovlyov Family*. p. 252

[91] Lenin is referring to the Law of June 8 (21), 1901, which turned government lands in Siberia over to private persons. The Law gave exceptional advantages to the landed nobility. Lenin made a detailed analysis and appraisal of this Law in his article, "Serf-Owners at Work" (see present edition, Vol. 5). p. 252

[92] Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, p. 137. p. 257

[93] Lenin is quoting from Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (see Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1959, pp. 253-54). p. 258

[94] *Stepnyak-Kravchinsky*—the Russian Narodnaya Volya writer. p. 258

[95] "*Concerning Demonstrations*" is Lenin's reply to a letter from a St. Petersburg University student about the editorial article, "What Is to Be Done?", printed on September 15, 1902, in *Iskra*, No. 25. The manuscript has no heading. The present heading has been provided by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. p. 260

[96] *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought)—a newspaper, the most consistent organ of the "economists", which was published from October 1897, to December 1902. Sixteen numbers were issued. The first two numbers were mimeographed in St. Petersburg; Nos. 3-11 were issued abroad, in Berlin; printing of Nos. 12, 13, 14, and 15 was effected in Warsaw; the last, No. 16, was issued abroad. The newspaper was edited by K. M. Takhtarev and others.

Lenin criticised the views of *Rabochaya Mysl* as a Russian variety of international opportunism in his article, "A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy" (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 255-85), in articles published in *Iskra*, and in the book, *What Is to Be Done?* p. 267

[97] Lenin gives a detailed assessment of the *Borba* group in his article, "On the *Borba* Group" (see p. 158 of this volume). p. 267

[98] "*On the Tasks of the Social-Democratic Movement*" is an excerpt from an article which Lenin wrote in November 1902.
The manuscript has no heading. The present heading has been provided by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. p. 269

[99] *Val*—a tsarist general, who ordered that workers arrested for demonstrating on May 1, 1902, should be flogged.
Obolensky—a tsarist high official, who savagely crushed peasant uprisings in the south of Russia in 1902. p. 269

[100] The proclamation of the Don Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., "To All Citizens", dated November 6, 1902, was reprinted by *Iskra*, No. 29, December 1, 1902. p. 279

[101] Lenin is referring to the following passage from Karl Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke, of May 5, 1875: "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes" (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, p. 11). p. 280

[102] Lenin is referring to the speeches made in court on October 28-31 (November 10-13), 1902, by Nizhni-Novgorod workers on trial for taking part in demonstrations on May 1 and 5 (14 and 18), 1902. The speeches were originally published as a separate leaflet by the Nizhni-Novgorod Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.; they were later reprinted by *Iskra* (No. 29, December l, 1902) under the heading "Nizhni-Novgorod Workers in Court" and issued as a separate pamphlet. p. 280

[103] This article was written by Lenin as an afterword of the *Iskra* Editorial Board to the leaflet, "To Secondary School Students", issued by the South-Russian Secondary School Students' Group. The leaflet and the afterword were published in *Iskra*, No. 29, December 1, 1902.
The manuscript has no heading. The present heading has been provided by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. p. 282

[104] *The League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad* was founded in October 1901 on Lenin's initiative. Affiliated to the League were the *Iskra* foreign organisation and the *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisation, which included the Emancipation of Labour group.
Formation of the League was preceded by an attempt to get these organisations join the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, made in June 1901 at the Geneva Conference. A resolution was worked out at this conference ("the agreement on principles"), recognising the need to rally all Social-Democratic forces of Russia, and especially to unite all Social-Democratic organisations abroad, and condemning opportunism in all its shades and manifestations. The unification was to have been given official form at the "Unity" Congress, which was held on September 21-22

(October 4-5), 1901. When it became clear at the Congress that the Union still adhered to its opportunist stand, the revolutionary section of the Congress (members of the *Iskra* organisation and the *Sotsial-Demokrat* group) announced that they did not consider union possible and walked out. Soon afterwards they formed the League Abroad, whose Rules stated that it was the foreign section of the *Iskra* organisation. The League recruited *Iskra* adherents from among Russian Social-Democrats living abroad, gave financial support to *Iskra* organised delivery of the paper to Russia and published Marxist popular literature. It also brought out several bulletins and pamphlets, including Lenin's *To the Rural Poor*.

The R.S.D.L.P.'s Second Congress endorsed the League as the only Party organisation abroad with the status of a committee, and indicated that it could give support to the Russian Social-Democratic movement only through persons and groups appointed by the Party's Central Committee.

Following the Second Congress, the Mensheviks entrenched themselves in the League and launched a struggle against Lenin and the Bolsheviks. At the League's second conference in October 1903, the Mensheviks got new Rules adopted, directed against the Party Rules approved by the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. After this the League, which existed until 1905, became a stronghold of Menshevism.

The Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad was founded in 1894 in Geneva, on the initiative of the Emancipation of Labour group, and had its own press where it printed revolutionary literature. At first the Emancipation of Labour group guided the Union and edited its publications. The Union issued the *Rabotnik* miscellanies and *Listok* "*Rabotnika*" (see Note 107), and published Lenin's *Explanation of the Law on Fines* (1897), Plekhanov's *New Drive Against Russian Social-Democracy* (1897), etc. The First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., held in March 1898, recognised the Union as the Party's representative abroad. As time proceeded, the opportunist elements—the "economists", or so-called "young" group—gained the upper hand in the Union. At the first conference of the Union, held in Zurich in November 1898, the Emancipation of Labour group announced their refusal to edit Union publications, with the exception of No. 5-6 of *Rabotnik* and Lenin's pamphlets, *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* and *The New Factory Law*, which the group undertook to publish. From then on, the Union published *Rabocheye Dyelo*, a magazine of the "economists". The Emancipation of Labour group finally broke with the Union and left its ranks in April 1900, at the Union's second conference held in Geneva, when the Emancipation of Labour group and its supporters left the conference and established an independent *Sotsial-Demokrat* organisation. In 1903 the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. passed a decision to disband the Union (see *The C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences, and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee*, Part I, 1954, p. 56). p. 287

[105] Lenin's work *On the Subject of Reports by Committees and Groups of the R.S.D.L.P. to the General Party Congress* was published in the preceding Russian edition of the *Collected Works* according to a copy of Lenin's Manuscript. Subsequently, Lenin's original manuscript was discovered. In the present edition of V. I. Lenin's *Collected Works* this article is for the first time published according to Lenin's original manuscript. p. 288

[106] *Rabochaya Gazeta* (Workers' Gazette)—illegal organ of the Kiev Social-Democrats, was published in Kiev with the participation and under the editorship of B. L. Eidelman, P. L. Tuchapsky, N. A. Vigdorchik, and others. In all, two numbers were issued: No. 1—in August 1897, and No. 2—in December (marked as November) of that year. P. L. Tuchapsky, who went abroad on the instructions of the Editorial Board, acquainted G. V. Plekhanov and other members of the Emancipation of Labour group with No. 1 of *Rabochaya Gazeta*, and secured their consent to contribute to the paper. In a letter to the members of the Editorial Board, G. V. Plekhanov gave a favourable appraisal of the paper as an all-Russian Social-Democratic organ, and pointed out that more attention should be paid to questions of the proletariat's political struggle. Following this contact with the Emancipation of Labour group, No. 2 of *Rabochaya Gazeta* was more definitely political in character. The Social-Democrats, grouped round *Rabochaya Gazeta*, worked on the preparations for the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

The First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (March 1898) recognised *Rabochaya Gazeta* as the official Party organ. After the Congress, the third issue of the newspaper, which was ready for the press, did not appear owing to the arrest of members of the Central Committee and the *Rabochaya Gazeta* Editorial Board, and also to the seizure of the printing-press. In 1899 an attempt was made to resume publication of *Rabochaya Gazeta*; V. I. Lenin speaks about this attempt in section "a" of the fifth chapter of *What Is to Be Done?* (see present edition, Vol. 5). p. 292

[107] *Rabotnik* (The Worker)—a non-periodical miscellany published in 1896-99 by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad, on the initiative of Lenin. The first number, which carried Lenin's article, "Frederick Engels", was published not earlier than March 1896.

Six numbers of *Rabotnik* were issued in three books, and 10 numbers of *Listok* "*Rabotnika*" (The "Rabotnik" Bulletin). p. 292

[108] *Zhizn* (Life)—a monthly magazine published in St. Petersburg between 1897 and 1901 and abroad in 1902. From 1899 the magazine was the organ of the "legal Marxists".

It published Lenin's article, "Reply to Mr. P. Nezhdanov" (No. 12, December 1899) and two articles entitled "Capitalism in Agriculture (Kautsky's Book and Mr. Bulgakov's Article)" in Nos. 1 and 2, January and February 1900 (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 160-65 and 105-59). p. 292

[109] *Makhayevists*, *Makhayevism*—an anarchist trend hostile to Marxism and headed by the Polish socialist, V. K. Makhaysky, who wrote under the pen-name of A. Volsky. Their programme was set out in a book by Makhaysky, *The Intellectual Worker* (published in three parts: parts 1 and 2 were hectographed in 1899 and 1900 in Siberia, where the author had been exiled, while Part 3 came out in Geneva in 1904). Makhayevism was marked by hostility towards the intelligentsia, which Makhaysky considered a parasitic class, and by an attempt to foster among the working class antagonism towards the revolutionary intelligentsia. Individual Makhayevist groups lacking any organisational form or links with one another existed in Irkutsk, Odessa, Warsaw, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere. The Makhayevists' influence on the working class was negligible. p. 298

[110] *Russkoye Sobraniye* (the Russian Assembly)—a Black-Hundred monarchist organisation, which supported the policy of the Zubatovists. It was formed in the autumn of 1900. p. 299

[111] *The Organising Committee* (*O.C.*) *for convening the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.* was first elected by the Belostok Conference in March (April) 1902, but soon after the conference all the Committee members but one were arrested. On Lenin's initiative a new Organising Committee was set up at the Pskov Conference of Social-Democratic committees held in November 1902. The *Iskra* supporters had an overwhelming majority in the new committee. Under Lenin's leadership, the Organising Committee carried out considerable work in preparing the Second Party Congress. In February 1903, draft rules for the convocation of the Party Congress were adopted at a plenary session held in Orel.

Following the February plenary session, members of the O.C. twice visited local committees with a view to assisting them in their work. With the participation of members of the O.C. the local Party organisations discussed the draft rules for the convocation of the Congress, after which the rules were confirmed by the O.C.

The O.C. confirmed the list of local organisations entitled to attend the Congress in accordance with the rules adopted. A detailed written report on its activities was prepared by the O.C. for presentation to the Congress. p. 305

[112] The reference is to the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., which was held in Minsk on March 1-3 (13-15), 1898. It was attended by nine delegates from six organisations—the St. Petersburg, Moscow, Ekaterinoslav and Kiev Leagues of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, the group of the Kiev *Rabochaya Gazeta*, and the Bund. The Congress elected the Central Committee of the Party, confirmed *Rabochaya Gazeta* as the Party's official organ, published a "Manifesto", and declared that the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad represented the Party abroad (see *The C.P.S.U. in Resolutions and Decisions of Its Congresses, Conferences*,

and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee, Part I, 1954, pp. 11-15).

The significance of the First Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. lay in the fact that, in its decisions and Manifesto, it proclaimed the formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, thereby being an important factor of revolutionary propaganda. However, the Congress did not adopt a programme or work out the Party Rules. The Central Committee elected at the Congress was arrested and the *Rabochaya Gazeta* print-shop seized, so that the Congress did not succeed in linking together and unifying the individual Marxist study circles and organisations. There was no central leadership and no definite line in the work of the local organisations. p. 305

[113] *7 Ts. 6 F.*—pseudonym of the Bolshevik F. V. Lengnik. p. 310

[114] *The Nizhni-Novgorod speeches*—the reference is to the speeches made by Nizhni-Novgorod revolutionary workers during their trial for participation in demonstrations. These speeches were published in *Iskra* and then as a pamphlet.

The Rostov struggle—the reference is to the pamphlet, *The Struggle of the Rostov Workers*, published by *Iskra*.

The pamphlet on strikes refers to the pamphlet, *The Autocracy and Strikes*, published in Geneva by the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy.

The Dikstein pamphlet—this refers to a popular Marxist pamphlet, *The Ways People Live*, by Dikstein. p. 311

[115] *Vperyod* (Forward)—a newspaper of the "economist" trend, published in Kiev between 1896 and 1900. p. 314

[116] *Krasnoye Znamya* (Red Banner)—organ of the "economists", was published by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad from November 1902 to January 1903 to take the place of *Rabocheye Dyelo*. Three numbers were issued. p. 314

[117] Lenin is referring to the pamphlet, *The Autocracy and Strikes*. p. 315

[118] The polemic between *Iskra* and the Bund on the question of the latter's organisational relations with the R.S.D.L.P. arose out of the decision of the Bund congress (in April 1901) to insist upon the federative principle of Party structure. *Iskra* opposed this decision. In a number of articles and in his speeches at the Second Party Congress, Lenin sharply criticised the Bund's nationalism. p. 319

[119] The reference is to a Yiddish translation of Karl Kautsky's pamphlet, *Social Revolution*. p. 331

[120] This work consists of the programme of lectures on the agrarian question and an outline of the first lecture delivered by Lenin

in February 1903 at the Higher Russian School of Social Sciences in Paris. The school was founded in 1901 for Russian students living abroad, and functioned legally. The organisers of the school openly showed their dislike of the revolutionary Marxists and expressed sympathy with the representatives of the Narodniks and Socialist-Revolutionary party. However, Lenin's prestige as a theoretician of the agrarian question was so high that the school's Council of Professors decided to invite "the well-known Marxist Vl. Ilyin" (V. I. Lenin.—*Ed.*), "author of the legal books, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and *Economic Studies*", to deliver a course of lectures on the agrarian question.

Lenin drafted the programme of his lectures well in advance and presented it before opening the course. The outline of the first lecture contained in this volume was taken down by one of the students of the school during the lecture and was then edited by Lenin. p. 335

[121] The *Slavophils* were a social trend in Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century, at a time when the serf-owning system was in the throes of a crisis. The Slavophils held the "theory" that Russia had her own and peculiar path of historical development, one that derived from the village commune system and Russian Orthodoxy, which, they claimed, were inherent in the Slavs. Since they held that Russia's historical development excluded possibility of revolution, the Slavophils were strongly opposed to the revolutionary movement, not only in Russia, but in the West as well. They stood for preservation of the autocracy, but thought that the monarch should give due consideration to public opinion, and proposed the calling of a Zemsky Sobor (Duma) composed of representatives of all sections of society. They were, however, against a constitution or any limiting of the autocracy. In the peasant question the Slavophils stood for emancipation of the peasants as individuals, and for the village communes being allotted land through its redemption from landlords. Among leading Slavophils were A. Khomyakov, the Kireyevsky brothers, the Aksakov brothers, and Y. Samarin. p. 355

[122] *T. P.*—the pseudonym under which Lenin published his article, "Persecutors of the Zemstvo and the Hannibals of Liberalism", in *Zarya*, No. 2-3, in 1901. (See present edition, Vol. 5.) p. 355

[123] *Goremykin*—tsarist statesman and a typical representative of the reactionary bureaucracy. A rabid monarchist, he was Minister of the Interior in 1896-99, during which period he conducted a reactionary policy and savagely persecuted the working-class movement. p. 356

[124] *Novoye Slovo* (New Word)—a monthly scientific, literary, and political magazine, published in St. Petersburg by the liberal Narodniks from 1894, and by the "legal Marxists" from the spring of 1897. Lenin published two articles in *Novoye Slovo*: "A Char-

acterisation of Economic Romanticism" and "About a Certain Newspaper Article" (see present edition, Vol. 2, pp. 129-265 and 316-22). In December 1897, the magazine was suppressed by the tsarist government. p. 356

[125] While preparing the pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor*, Lenin drew up several variants of the plan and individual items for the first variant, as well as plans for separate chapters of the pamphlet (see *Lenin Miscellany XIX*, pp. 339-56).

Regarding the aims of the pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor*, Lenin informed Plekhanov in a letter of March 1903 that he was writing a popular pamphlet for peasants about the agrarian programme, in which he explained the Marxist view of the class struggle in the countryside on the basis of concrete data on the four strata of the village population (landlords, peasant bourgeoisie, middle peasants, and semi-proletarians together with proletarians).

The pamphlet was published in Geneva in May 1903 by the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad.

The text of the draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P., with an introduction written by Lenin, was appended to the pamphlet, which was very widely distributed. It was transported illegally to Russia from abroad, dispatched to various towns and from there distributed among the villages. During the period from May 1903 to December 1905 alone, the pamphlet was supplied to 75 towns and villages according to the incomplete data available. It was studied in illegal Social-Democratic and workers' circles, penetrated into the army and navy, and was read by students in secondary schools and universities. In 1904 the pamphlet was republished by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. abroad; it was several times reprinted in Russia. p. 359

[126] *The title-deeds*—the name given to the deeds drawn up by the landlords at the time of the "emancipation" of the peasants under the 1861 Reform. The deeds recorded the amount of land in use by the peasants before the Reform, and determined the land the despoiled peasants kept after the "emancipation". The deeds also enumerated the services the serf peasants had previously performed for the landlord, and served as the basis in determining the amount of land redemption payment. p. 408

[127] *X*—pseudonym of the Menshevik P. P. Maslov. p. 436

[128] *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (Fatherland Notes)—a magazine which began publication in 1820, and after 1839 appeared as a regular monthly. Contributors to the magazine included Belinsky, Nekrasov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Yeliseyev, and others. The revolutionary-democratic intelligentsia were grouped round *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, which was constantly persecuted by the censorship until it was closed down by the tsarist government in 1884. p. 449

[129] *The Polish Socialist Party* (*P.S.P.*)—a petty-bourgeois nationalist party, founded in 1892. p. 452

[130] *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (New Rhenish Gazette) appeared in Cologne from June 1, 1848, until May 19, 1849. Marx and Engels were managers of this newspaper, Marx being editor-in-chief. As Lenin put it, the newspaper was "the best, the unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 81). It educated the masses, roused them to fight the counter-revolution, and made its influence felt throughout Germany. Because of its resolute and irreconcilable position and its militant internationalism, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was from the first months of its existence persecuted by the feudal-monarchist and liberal-bourgeois press, and also by the government. Marx's deportation by the Prussian Government and the repressive measures against its other editors led to the paper ceasing publication. About the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* see the article by Engels, "Marx and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49)" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1970, pp. 164-72). p. 455

[131] Lenin is quoting from the series of articles printed under the general title of "Debates on the Polish Question in Frankfort" in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in August-September 1848. See *MEGA*, Erste Abteilung, Band 7, S. 287-317. Engels was the author of these articles. p. 456

[132] *Dabrowski*, *Jaroslaw* and *Wróblewski*, *Walery*—prominent leaders of the Polish revolutionary movement in 1863-64, who emigrated to France after the suppression of the Polish uprising. In 1871 they were generals of the Paris Commune. p. 456

[133] Lenin is quoting Franz Mehring's introduction to the third volume of the *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, *1841 to 1850*, which he published in 1902. (*Gesammelte Schriften von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels*, *1841 bis 1850*. Dritter Band, Stuttgart. Verlag von J. H. W. Dietz, Nachf., 1902.) p. 457

[134] *The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.* was held on July 17 (30) to August 10 (23), 1903. The first thirteen sessions of the Congress were held in Brussels, but owing to police persecution, the Congress sessions were transferred to London. In all, 37 sessions were held. There were 20 items on the agenda, of which the most important were: the Party programme, Party organisation (confirmation of the Rules of the R.S.D.L.P.), elections to the Central Committee and editorial board of the Party's Central Organ. Twenty-six organisations were represented at the Congress, which was attended by 43 delegates possessing 51 decisive votes (eight delegates had two votes each), and by 14 delegates with a deliberative voice.

The preparations for the Congress had been made by Lenin's *Iskra*, Lenin himself carrying out tremendous work in this respect.

Lenin drew up the outline of the report on the work of the *Iskra* organisation, and composed the draft of the Party Rules, the draft resolutions on several questions planned for discussion

at the Congress, the agenda and the standing orders of the Congress.

Lenin did much work among the delegates, ascertaining the general situation and state of organisation in various parts of the country, and discussing many of the problems confronting the Congress. At a meeting of the Congress delegates, Lenin made a report on the national question.

The composition of the Congress was not homogeneous. Attending it were not only supporters of *Iskra*, but also its opponents, as well as unstable and wavering elements. Lenin's preliminary acquaintance with the delegates made it possible for him to ascertain the political stand of each of them prior to the opening of the Congress.

Lenin was elected to the Bureau of the Congress and was a member of the main Congress committees: the programme, Rules and Credentials Committees. He delivered the report on the Party Rules and spoke on almost all the subjects on the agenda. The minutes of the Congress register more than one hundred and thirty speeches, remarks, and rejoinders made by Lenin. p. 465

[135] Draft Rules of the R.S.D.L.P. proposed by Lenin at the Second Congress of the Party have not been preserved. The present volume gives the original draft Rules included by the Protocol Committee of the Second Congress in the appendices to the *Full Text of the Minutes of the Second Regular Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party*, published in Geneva in 1904. The Protocol Committee of the Second Party Congress erroneously termed Lenin's original draft Rules, which it included in appendix XI to the *Full Text of the Minutes*, the draft of the organisational rules of the R.S.D.L.P. put forward by Lenin at the Congress (see V. I. Lenin, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, item G, The Party Rules. Comrade Martov's Draft). p. 474

[136] Lenin's speech on the actions of the Organising Committee was evoked by the following incident. Before the Congress met, the Organizing Committee had already rejected the demand of the *Borba* group for their representative to attend the Congress with a deliberative voice. The Credentials Committee endorsed the Organising Committee's proposal. When Credentials Committee's decision had been reported to the Congress, one of the members of the Organising Committee demanded a recess so that this question might be reconsidered in the Organising Committee. During the recess, the Organising Committee met and by a majority of votes (against one) decided to invite the representative of the *Borba* group to attend the Congress with a deliberative voice.

Those mentioned in the speech were: Yegorov—the Menshevik E. Y. Levin; Stein—the Menshevik E. M. Alexandrova; Pavlovich—the Bolshevik P. A. Krasikov. p. 482

[137] *Hofman*—pseudonym of Bund member V. Kossovsky. p. 484

[138] This refers to the Northumberland and Durham miners who, in the eighties of the nineteenth century, secured a 7-hour working day for skilled underground workers—through a deal with the coal-owners—but later for a number of years opposed the legal enactment of an 8-hour working day for all workers in Britain. p. 486

[139] Lenin is referring to Karl Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Chapter VII (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1969, pp. 478-80). p. 487

[140] Lenin is referring to Karl Marx's *Civil War in France* (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 225). p. 487

[141] *Makhov*—pseudonym of the Menshevik D. P. Kalafati; Kostrov—pseudonym of the Menshevik N. N. Jordania. p. 495

[142] *Khizani*—the name given to the landless peasants of Georgia, who in the distant past had been settled on tie lands of the landlords on specially agreed terms. The *khizani* were not formally considered serfs, enjoyed personal liberty, but remained perpetual tenants without any rights. The 1861 Peasant Reform did not apply to the *khizani*, who continued to be completely dependent on the landlords. These began to increase the *khizani*'s services and confiscate the land they held. The *khizani* system was abolished after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Temporarily bound peasants was the name given to those former serf peasants who were still compelled to carry out certain duties (payment of quit-rent or performance of corvée service) for the use of their land even after the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and until they started paying redemption money to the landlord for their allotments. From the moment the redemption contract was concluded, the peasants ceased to be "temporarily bound" and joined the category of "peasant property-owners".

On Lenin's proposal, the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. added to the agrarian section of the Party programme the demand for "transfer to the ownership of the peasants in the Caucasus of lands which they are using as temporarily bound peasants, *khizani*, and so forth". p. 496

[143] *Brucker*—pseudonym of the Menshevik Mrs. Makhnovets. p. 499

[144] At the thirty-first session of the Second Congress Lenin delivered a speech on the subject of the election of the *Iskra* editorial board. When the minutes of this session were ratified at the thirty-fifth session of the Congress, a change was made, with Lenin's consent, in the text of his speech. The beginning of the speech—from the words: "Comrades! Martov's speech was so strange that I find myself obliged to protest emphatically against his presentation of the question..." and ending with the words "...is therefore

indicative only of an *astounding confusion of political ideas*"—was deleted and replaced by the following:

"I ask the Congress to allow me to reply to Martov.

"Comrade Martov said that the vote in question cast a slur on his political reputation. The election has nothing to do with an insult to a political reputation (*Shouts*: '*Wrong! Not true!*' *Plekhanov and Lenin protest against recesses. Lenin asks the secretaries to enter in the minutes that Zasulich, Martov, and Trotsky have interrupted him, and he asks that the number of times they have interrupted him should be recorded.*)"

In the present volume Lenin's speech is printed in the form in which he wrote it and delivered it at the Congress. p. 503

[145] Lenin is referring to the strike of Odessa workers in July 1902. Despite the efforts of the local Zubatov organisation to deflect the workers from the revolutionary struggle, the strike assumed a markedly political character. Mass political strikes in 1903 embraced almost the whole of South Russia (Kiev, Ekaterinoslav, Nikolayev, Elizavetgrad, and other towns).

Lenin's *Iskra* gave detailed accounts of the Odessa events in No. 45, August 1, 1903. p. 514

[146] The reference is to the Jewish pogrom organised in Kishinev by the tsarist government and the Black Hundreds in April 1903. p. 519

THE LIFE AND WORK OF

V. I. LENIN

Outstanding Dates

(*January 1902-August 1903*)

1902

Beginning of January	V. I. Lenin writes his critical notes on the first draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P. prepared by G. V. Plekhanov.
January 8 (21)	Lenin criticises Plekhanov's first draft programme at a meeting of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* in Munich and proposes amendments to this draft and recommendations.
Between January 8 and 25 (January 21 and February 7)	Lenin prepares a new draft programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.
February 15 (28)	*Iskra*, No. 17, publishes Lenin's articles, "Signs of Bankruptcy" and "From the Economic Life of Russia".
Not later than February 18 (March 3)	Lenin makes three amendments to his draft programme of the Party.
End of February-first half of March (March)	Lenin writes his critical notes on the second draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P. prepared by Plekhanov.
February-first half of March	Lenin writes his article, "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy", a commentary to the agrarian section of the programme of the R.S.D.L.P.
Beginning of March (middle of March)	Lenin's book, *What Is to Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*, which lays the ideological foundations for a Marxist party, comes off the press in Stuttgart.
March 5 (18)	Lenin prepares the report of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and draft resolution for the Belostok Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., takes part in the meeting of the Editorial Board, and gives instructions to the *Iskra* delegate to the Belostok Conference.

March 10 (23)	Lenin's article, "A Letter to the Zemstvoists", is published in No. 18 of *Iskra*.
March 30 (April 12)	V. I. Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya leave Munich for London in view of the transfer of *Iskra*'s publication to that city. In the train to London, Lenin writes his remarks on the draft Party programme prepared by the co-ordinating committee of the *Iskra* Editorial Board.
Beginning of April	V. I. Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya arrive in London.
First half of April (second half of April)	Lenin makes arrangements for the printing of *Iskra* in London.
April	Lenin writes a letter to the Northern League of the R.S.D.L.P., commenting on the draft programme of the League.
May 1 (14)	Lenin writes a letter to Plekhanov protesting against the impermissible character and tone of Plekhanov's remarks in editing the article, "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy".
June 1 (14)	*Iskra*, No. 21, publishes the draft programme of the R.S.D.L.P., prepared under Lenin's guidance by the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and the magazine *Zarya*.
Between June 12-14 (25-27)	Lenin arrives in Paris.
June 14 (27)	At a meeting of Russian political emigrants in Paris Lenin reads a paper directed against the Socialist-Revolutionaries.
Second half of June-beginning of July (end of June-middle of July)	V. I. Lenin lives at Longwy (Northern coast of France) together with his mother M. A. Ulyanova and his sister A. I. Yelizarova.
End of June-beginning of July (July)	Lenin writes his article, "Why the Social-Democrats Must Declare a Determined and Relentless War on the Socialist-Revolutionaries".
July, before July 3 (16) and 9 (22)	V. I. Lenin writes two letters to I. I. Radchenko in which he outlines a plan for the work of the St. Petersburg organisation of the R.S.D.L.P. in the immediate future.
July-August	Lenin writes his article, "Revolutionary Adventurism", which was published in Nos. 23 and 24 of *Iskra* and later as a separate pamphlet.

August 2 (15)	Lenin holds a conference with representatives of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., the Russian organisation of *Iskra*, and the Northern League of the R.S.D.L.P., and forms the *Iskra*-ist nucleus of the Organising Committee for the convocation of the Second Congress of the Party.
August 11 (24)	Lenin writes a letter to the Moscow Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. concerning the committee's statement of solidarity with the views outlined in the book, *What Is to Be Done?*, and outlines a plan of action for the committee in the immediate future.
August	Lenin's article, "The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy", is published in No. 4 of *Zarya*. Lenin writes a preface to the second edition of the pamphlet, *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*.
September 1 (14)	Lenin's editorial, "The Draft of a New Law on Strikes", is published in *Iskra*, No. 24.
September 3 (16)	Lenin writes a letter to the editors of *Yuzhny Rabochy* about the need to unite the local committees in a single all-Russian organisation.
September 6 (19)	On Lenin's instructions, the Berlin group for the transport of *Iskra* sends to Russia the matrices for Nos. 22 and 23 of *Iskra* for printing at the illegal print-shop set up in Baku by V. Z. Ketskhoveli.
September	Lenin writes his pamphlet, *A Letter to a Comrade on Our Organisational Tasks*, in which he elaborates *Iskra*'s principles of organisation of a party of a new type. In conversations with I. V. Babushkin, who has arrived from Russia, Lenin outlines the immediate tasks of the *Iskra*-ist organisations in Russia.
October 15 (28)	Lenin's editorial, "Political Struggle and Political Chicanery", is published in No. 26 of *Iskra*.
October 28-November 7 (November 10-20)	At Lausanne, Geneva, Berne, and Zurich (Switzerland) Lenin reads his paper criticising the programme and tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.
November 1 (14)	Lenin's article, "Vulgar Socialism and Narodism as Resurrected by the Socialist-Revolutionaries", is published in No. 27 of *Iskra*.
November 2-3 (15-16)	On Lenin's initiative, the Organising Committee (O.C.) for the convocation of the Second Congress

	of the R.S.D.L.P. is formed at the Pskov Conference.
November 16 (29)	Lenin reads in London his paper criticising the programme and tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries.
Late November (first half of December)	Lenin prepares a draft programme for the work of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., informs the Organising Committee of this draft, and outlines the immediate tasks of the Organising Committee.
November-December	Lenin writes "The Basic Thesis Against the Socialist-Revolutionaries" and his article, "On the Tasks of the Social-Democratic Movement".
December 1 (14)	Lenin's article, "New Events and Old Questions", is published in No. 29 of *Iskra*.
December 14 (27)	Lenin writes a letter to the *Iskra*-ist F. V. Lengnik in Kiev, suggesting that the struggle against the "economists" be intensified.
December	Lenin edits the Russian translation of Karl Kautsky's pamphlet, *The Social Revolution*, published in Geneva in 1903.
December 1902-January 1903	Lenin writes his work, "On the Subject of Reports by Committees and Groups of the R.S.D.L.P. to the General Party Congress".
Second half of 1902-first half of 1903	Lenin conducts classes for studying the programme of the R.S.D.L.P., in a circle for Russian worker-emigrants in London.

1903

January 1 (14)	Lenin's article, "Moscow Zubatovists in St. Petersburg", is published in No. 31 of *Iskra*.
January 15 (28)	Lenin's article, "Announcement of the Formation of an Organising Committee", is published in No. 32 of *Iskra*.
End of January (beginning of February)	Lenin writes his articles, "Concerning the Statement of the Bund" and "On the Manifesto of the Armenian Social-Democrats". Both articles are published in No. 33 of *Iskra*.
January	Lenin writes his work, "Some Reflections on the Letter from 7 Ts. 6 F." (7 Ts. 6 F.—pseudonym of F. V. Lengnik), criticising the leaders of the local Party committees for inactivity in organising political work among the masses.

February 10-13 (23-26)	In the Higher Russian School of Social Sciences in Paris Lenin delivers four lectures on the subject "Marxist Views on the Agrarian Question in Europe and in Russia".
February 15 (28)	Lenin's article, "Does the Jewish Proletariat Need an 'Independent Political Party'?" directed against the bourgeois nationalism of the Bund, is published in No. 34 of *Iskra*.
February 18-21 (March 3-6)	At a meeting of Russian political emigrants in Paris, Lenin reads a paper on the agrarian programme of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats.
February 24 (March 9)	Lenin returns from Paris to London.
March 1 (14)	Lenin's article, "The Autocracy Is Wavering....", is published in No. 35 of *Iskra*.
March 5 (18)	Lenin delivers a speech on the Paris Commune at a workers' meeting in Whitechapel (a working-class district in London).
March	Lenin writes his pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor. An Explanation for the Peasants of What the Social-Democrats Want.*
April 1 (14)	Lenin's article, "Mr. Struve Exposed by His Colleague", is published in No. 37 of *Iskra*.
April 15 (28)	Lenin's article, "*Les Beaux Esprits Se Rencontrent*, (Which May Be Interpreted Roughly as: Birds of a Feather Flock Together)", directed against the Socialist-Revolutionaries, is published in No. 38 of *Iskra*.
End of April (beginning of May)	Lenin and Krupskaya move from London to Geneva in connection with the transfer of *Iskra*'s publication to that city.
May	Lenin's pamphlet, *To the Rural Poor*, comes off the press in Geneva.
June	At Berne Lenin delivers several lectures on the agrarian question.
June-first half of July	Lenin conducts preparations for the Second Congress of the Party. He drafts the standing orders and agenda of the Congress, prepares the draft Rules of the Party, and acquaints the members of the *Iskra* Editorial Board and delegates to the Congress with this draft.

	Lenin attends meetings of Congress delegates, makes the acquaintance of the delegates, and speaks on the national question at a delegates' meeting.
	Lenin writes an outline of the report to the Congress on the activities of the *Iskra* organisation.
	Lenin prepares draft resolutions for the Congress: on demonstrations, on the place of the Bund in the Party, on the attitude towards the student youth, on Party literature, and drafts of minor resolutions (on the economic struggle, on May Day, on the International Congress, on terrorism, on propaganda, and on the distribution of forces).
	Lenin writes his article, "Reply to Criticism of Our Draft Programme", substantiating the agrarian section of the Party programme. The article is published in the pamphlet, *On the Agrarian Programme of X*, distributed among the delegates to the Congress in lieu of a report on the agrarian question.
July 15 (28)	Lenin's editorial, "The National Question in Our Programme", is published in No. 44 of *Iskra*.
July 17 (30)-August 10 (23)	The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. meets in Brussels and London. Lenin takes a leading part in the work of the Congress; he keeps a diary of the Congress sessions.
July 17 (30)	At the first session of the Congress in Brussels, Lenin is elected Vice-Chairman, member of the Presidium and member of the Credentials Committee of the Congress.
July 17-18 (30-31)	Lenin works on the Credentials Committee of the Congress.
July 18 (31)	Lenin speaks twice at the second session of the Congress in support of the agenda recommended by him.
	Lenin speaks at the third session of the Congress on the incorrect actions of the Organising Committee (on the "incident with the O.C.") and on the question of the attendance of the Polish Social-Democrats at the Congress.
July 20 (August 2)	Lenin speaks at the sixth session of the Congress on the place of the Bund in the R.S.D.L.P., criticising the Bund's nationalism in questions of organisation.
July 21 (August 3)	Lenin is elected to the Programme Committee at the eighth session of the Congress.

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Between July 21 and 29 (August 3 and 11)	Lenin works in the Programme Committee of the Congress.
July 22 (August 4)	Lenin speeks on the Party Programme at the ninth session of the Congress.
Between July 24 and 29 (August 6 and 11)	Lenin and the delegates of the Second Congress move from Brussels to London.
July 29 (August 11)	At the fourteenth session of the Congress Lenin delivers the report on the Party Rules.
	At the fifteenth session of the Congress, Lenin is elected to the Committee for Editing the Rules.
Between July 29 and August 2 (August 11 and 15)	Lenin works in the Committee for Editing the Rules.
July 31 (August 13)	Lenin speaks at the nineteenth session of the Congress, in the discussion on the agrarian programme of the Party.
August 1 (14)	Lenin delivers three speeches at the twentieth and twenty-first sessions of the Congress, in the discussion on the agrarian programme.
August 2 (15)	Lenin speaks at the twenty-second and twenty-third sessions of the Congress, in support of his proposed formulation of §1 of the Rules about membership in the Party.
August 2 or 3 (15 or 16)	Lenin attends the meeting of the *Iskra* organisation at which a split takes place among the *Iskra*-ists over the question of candidates for election to the Central Committee.
August 4 (17)	Lenin speaks at the twenty-fifth session of the Congress, on the composition of the Party Council.
August 4 and 5 (17 and 18)	Lenin speaks three times at the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sessions of the Congress, in the discussion on §12 of the Party Rules, on the question of co-optation to the Central Committee and to the editorial board of the Central Organ of the Party.
August 5 (18)	Lenin attends a private meeting of delegates of the majority, at which the question of the composition of the Central Committee is discussed.
Between August 5 and 10 (18 and 23)	Lenin prepares draft resolutions: on the withdrawal of the Bund from the R.S.D.L.P., on separate groups, on the army, and on the peasantry

(these resolutions were not submitted to the Congress).

August 7 (20) — Lenin speaks at the thirty-first session of the Congress on the question of elections to the Editorial Board of *Iskra*, the Central Organ of the Party.

Lenin is elected by secret ballot to the Editorial Board of *Iskra*; speaks on elections to the Central Committee.

August 9 or 10 (22 or 23) — Lenin prepares a draft resolution on the publication of a periodical for members of religious sects.

August 10 (23) — Lenin speaks at the thirty-seventh session of the Congress, against Potresov's resolution on the attitude towards the liberals, and delivers his speech on the attitude towards the student youth.

August 11 (24) — Lenin and other Bolshevik delegates of the Congress pay homage to the memory of Karl Marx at the latter's grave in Highgate Cemetery.

After August 11 (24) — After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin returns from London to Geneva.

August 15 (28) — Lenin's articles, "An Era of Reforms", concerning the law on factory stewards, and "The Latest Word in Bundist Nationalism", are published in No. 46 of *Iskra*.

В. И. ЛЕНИН

СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 6

На английскот языке